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Life on the Negro Frontier

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A study of the objectives and the success of the activities promoted in the Young Men's Christian Associations operating in "Rosenwald" buildings

GEORGE R. ARTHUR

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JESSE EDWARD MOORLAND

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INTRODUCTION

During the last five years the various foundations and the public, through community chests or individual donors contributing to social and religious institutions, have compelled men to define very clearly the value of activities promoted by them for the benefit of the individuals, families, and groups served. The demonstrated usefulness of such appraisals suggested to the Julius Rosenwald Fund that a study of the objectives and the success of the activities promoted in the Young Men's Christian Associations operating in "Rosenwald" buildings would be of practical value to the committees of management, employed staffs, members, and contributors. This study includes twenty-five such modern buildings.

The information was gathered through questionnaires sent to executive secretaries of each of the Associations, together with a letter setting forth the purpose and nature of the study. Following the return of the questionnaire, visits were made by the writer to each Association and the answers checked in the light of interviews with general secretaries, executive secretaries, members of committees of management, members of the Associations, non-members, ministers, social workers, and community chest officials. *The Y. M. C. A. Year Book* for 1933 and *The United States Census* for

1930 were used to check statistical statements of the Associations and the descriptions of Negro population trends, in order to show their influence on the service of the "Rosenwald" Associations.

The writer wishes to express his deep sense of appreciation for the valuable services rendered by the secretaries of the Y. M. C. A.'s and others in helping him to collect and prepare the material for publication.

GEORGE R. ARTHUR.

Chicago,
September 7, 1934.

PART ONE

West 135th Street Branch
New York City, N. Y.

CHAPTER I

LIFE ON THE NEGRO FRONTIER

A

THE rural South has always been, for Negroes, a woman's world. The urban North, and latterly the urban South, has been for Negroes a man's world.

This generalization has all of the inadequacies of similar social judgments, and as many exceptions. It has historic roots that justify its application here to a consideration of the rôle of the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes. The Old South of slavery may have been patriarchal where the master class was concerned, but ancient custom and the requirements of that "peculiar institution" forced the slave and the slave family into the matriarchal mould. Too frequent instances of miscegenation in the early Colonial days led to the enactment of legislation to the effect that the child of a mixed union should "follow the condition" of the mother. When an occasional indentured white serving woman gave birth to a mulatto child, the ancient law was fortified with severe penalties attached to such misconduct on the part of these temporary slaves.

Plantation life and the exigencies of the slave trade strengthened the position of the mother in the families of the southern slave Negro. There

were many instances of the disruption of families, and too often were there Negro slave mothers "weeping for their children" sold a thousand miles away down the river. The male was more incidental in the family structure, his prime function being that of procreator. His owner's disposition of him was not dependent upon considerations of caring for infants who in time would be valuable sale assets. Perforce the Negro woman accommodated herself to the situation, and during and after slavery was the real head of the family.

The North had always a different social setting. The Negro population there was constantly renewed by new additions from the South, who were most likely to be males. The North was the frontier of the Negro population, particularly after those revolutionary days when the institution of slavery passed out of the picture in the North. The foot-loose, the runaway, the adventurous man, smarting under the injustice of the South, encumbered by none of the natural physical handicaps of woman, and blessed with the facility of the male in all times and countries to make new adaptations—this was the typical fugitive. The records of the Underground Railroad, that heroic system by which Negro runaways were spirited from South to North, are more replete with the records of male than of female passengers, and for perfectly understandable reasons. The records are also full of accounts of Negro artisans who purchased their freedom by extra services, and then,

after removing to the North, spent a lifetime accumulating enough money to purchase and send for the members of their families. Jacob labored for Rachel no more heroically than did hundreds of these unsung fathers of a people.

Like the pioneer in the West, then, the Negro in the North was on the frontier; and, like many of the pioneers on that other individualistic boundary of culture, he could not always bring his women with him. There is one significant difference, however, between the Negro frontier and the classic type known to the historians. Eventually the historic frontier has receded or disappeared as settlement took more and more permanent form. The Negro frontier, however, was always in a state of flux, and every newcomer or new wave of migration witnessed the repetition of the old stages of acculturation. The pioneer community of the West in time grew stable, and newcomers found a state of culture not far different from that they had left behind them in the "effete" East. But the Negro communities never had time to absorb completely the diverse individuals who constantly flowed into them. To this fact is due in great measure the resemblance of the Negro community today to the frontier—boisterous, individualistic, not too careful of the conventional proprieties—such as surround, for example, the taking of life and of love. By the time that any northern Negro community feels itself ready to

turn to "settlement" in the sense of building up stable relations, both within the family and within the personalities of its members, it is struck by a new wave of migrants who must be absorbed, or by some new economic catastrophe that inevitably breaks into the weak patterns of a settled life barely established.

The somewhat primitive social relations enforced by this perpetual "frontier" should not blind us to the fact that stability was achieved in certain portions of the Negro community in the North. There was an achievement of normal adjustment that was magnificent in view of the handicaps under which it was performed. The Negro communities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Washington were examples of localities within which individual families developed a tradition of gentility, and whose conventional behavior won for them success that was distinguished as measured by any standards.

B

The political status of the Negro has been the favorite theme of historians concerned with the race during the nineteenth century, as it was the most bitterly contested issue in its own contemporary setting. Emancipation during the last half of the nineteenth century did not lead to full participation in the democracy. The state constitutions of several northern States contained sections

limiting the rights of Negroes as citizens, and as late as 1868 Indiana prohibited the attendance of Negro children in the public schools of the State. Between 1850 and 1860 the fight of the Abolitionist forces, and of individual leaders not within the organized ranks of the propagandists, began to yield definite signs of victory. This was despite the success of the efforts made by the pro-slavery leaders to have Congress enact the Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The northern Negro had little to hope for even on the eve of the Civil War. During an impassioned speech on the state of the Negro population, Frederick Douglass, eloquent Negro ex-slave, brought his peroration to a despairing conclusion when Sojourner Truth, an illiterate old woman who had fought as courageously as Douglass himself for the freedom of her people, shouted from the rear of the auditorium, "Frederick, is God dead?"

After emancipation the northern Negro found himself endowed with political privileges, but the scattered location of Negroes throughout the section prevented the race from deriving any political power from their exercise of the ballot for some time to come. Where large Negro settlements existed, they became part of the local political machines in the same way in which other underprivileged national groups were so exploited. Forced primarily by racial antagonism, the Negro

early found himself in a segregated residential area, and his low economic status from the beginning meant that the area was a slum. This segregation, however, was by no means so characteristic of the Negro population in the early days as it has since been. During the last portion of the nineteenth century the Negro population of such cities as Chicago, Milwaukee, and Boston was fairly well distributed among their white neighbors.

C

Bound up with the entire marginal existence of the Negro in the North was his economic status. In the South the Negro slave ran all the gamut of the tasks characteristic of the plantation, and his exercise of skill was limited only by the relatively simple demands of the agrarian culture of which he was a part. Negroes on plantations were carpenters, wheelwrights, painters, harness makers, and masons of no mean ability. The free Negro in the South suffered, as did the white artisan, from the competition of the slave blacks. In spite of this competition, the free Negro class numbered in its groups men possessed of all of the skills known to the region.

The Negro in the North who was an artisan was more likely than not to be a southern Negro who had purchased his freedom, or a southern free Negro who had deserted the section for a better chance to employ his skill without the ruinous

competition of slave labor. Following the Civil War, Negro artisans appeared in considerable numbers in the North. Here they met the full opposition of organized labor, which presented a handicap to employment almost as pronounced as that which social conditions imposed in the South. Immediately before and after the Civil War the Negro in the North, not possessed of any skill, found himself faced also with the competition of immigrant white labor. Even as far south as New Orleans Irish immigrant labor was preferred to that of Negroes in the decade before the Civil War; but this preference had reasons not entirely critical of the abilities of the Negro. It was explained by the contracting employers that it was cheaper to hire Irish labor to dig ditches in Louisiana because deaths from malaria were too frequent to risk endangering the lives of valuable Negro slaves in the work.

The northern Negro of this time was more likely to find employment in menial service of some sort than in any other field. He dominated the occupation of waiting and generally was found in all the hotels and other personal-service establishments. Several Negro families rose to positions of great popularity as caterers, and substantial fortunes were accumulated from this business. In *The Philadelphia Negro,* Du Bois has shown how these families developed a competence in their field which, unfortunately, did not continue. Just

as Irish immigration brought insufferable competition to the Negro laborer in the North, the former supremacy of Negroes as domestics, barbers, and coachmen was overthrown as new waves of migrants from Scandinavia and from southern Europe flooded the country.

The competition between white and black workers frequently resulted in bloody riots in the leading cities of the North, both before and following emancipation. A Philadelphia riot in 1843 resulted in the expulsion of a large portion of the Negro population of that city. Negroes in the early decades of the nineteenth century had been large factors in the industrial life of that city, but foreign immigration and "the demand for new sorts of skilled labor of which the Negro was ignorant, and not allowed to learn" gradually forced them from these occupations. In 1837 only 350 out of 10,000 Negroes in the city were engaged in skilled trades. The Negroes were so frequently assailed by their white competitors in the labor market that the number of Negroes in Philadelphia declined between 1840 and 1850.

Violent riots were precipitated in New York, in 1863, not only because of the draft laws of that year, as is commonly thought, but also on account of the importation of Negro laborers as strikebreakers. Several hundred Negroes were killed in the vicious fighting that ensued, which threw the entire city into a reign of terror until the interven-

tion of Federal troops became effective. The feeling of insecurity was so marked on the part of the Negro leaders that numerous conventions were held in the two decades prior to the Civil War, in which an invariable resolution was one dealing with the necessity for the training of Negroes in the skilled occupations. Harriet Beecher Stowe was asked by one such convention to go to England to raise money for the establishment of a trade school for the Negro boys and girls who were not allowed to learn these occupations under the system then prevailing.

In the period following emancipation, the Negro emerged from his menial place as an employee only when introduced into the conflict between capital and labor. In 1867 colored ship calkers were imported to Boston to break a strike of white workers. Since that time there have been numerous similar instances of the introduction of Negroes into industry, and the only time when this introduction was not accompanied by violence was during the World War. Then Negro workers were imported from the South in vast numbers with no immediate reaction, because universal, war-puffed "prosperity" and the cessation of European migration left the Negro with no hostile competitors waiting on the spot to cast a challenge. The first evidences of deflation in employment following the War, however, ushered in a series of bitter race riots in the leading industrial centers of the land.

It is important to remember that the constant marginal status of the Negro workman in all of this long period made even more complex the adjustment of the Negro man and boy to a system in which they had to find ready adjustment or perish. Men brought north to work after the Civil War were not likely to bring families with them, nor to find ready attachment in that section at once. It takes generations for adjustment of this sort, not years. The distortion was particularly important among the age groups of late youth and early manhood. The problem during this crucial period of adjustment is reflected in figures giving the sex ratio for Negroes in different sections of the country from 1880 to 1910, as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Males Per Thousand Females in the Negro Population of the United States—1880-1910

	1910	1900	1890	1880
UNITED STATES.....	989	986	995	978
Geographic Divisions:				
New England.....	978	936	943	929
Middle Atlantic....	949	961	982	922
East North Central.	1,083	1,090	1,093	1,078
West North Central	1,078	1,040	1,041	1,015
South Atlantic.....	975	969	979	968
East South Central.	984	989	993	973
West South Central.	1,004	999	1,012	997
Mountain	1,213	1,404	1,820	1,480
Pacific	1,204	1,211	1,385	1,368

In Chicago, in 1890, there were 1,253 males among Negroes to every 1,000 females. By 1910 this ratio had decreased to 1,059. Other midwestern cities showed a decisive ratio in which there was an excess of males, including Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Detroit. Of the large centers of the Negro population, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Philadelphia showed an excess of males over females in 1920, although Philadelphia had at each prior census returned an excess of females. By 1930 only Cleveland and Detroit of the large cities showed a high sex ratio for males. As a testimonial to the effect of the migration, Detroit, which in 1910 showed 1,083 males to every 1,000 females, had in 1920 23,605 males and 17,233 females, a sex ratio showing an excess of 370 men in every thousand women.

Taken as a symptom or as a cause, these facts clearly indicate the tremendous problem which involved the adjustment of these young Negro men and women to their new environment. They also have interesting implications as to the nature of the social and religious life of the persons concerned. It is of added significance that, although in general there were reported in northern cities in 1910 more females than males, the only known age groups at which males greatly exceeded females were in the periods 25-44 years, and 45-64 years. It is from the first class that migrants may be expected to come.

D

On this perpetual frontier on which Negroes lived in northern cities before 1910 there were but few institutionalized means for adjusting the population to a new way of life. Perhaps the migrant was too old for school. If his children were still of school age, their early education in southern schools had been so meager, if indeed they had had any schooling at all, that in northern schools their inadequacies resulted in extreme retardation and early discouragement. If the child was born in the North, the heritage of generations of illiterate parents in the South was likely to present an unsurmountable barrier to his successful completion of the course. Or there might well come (as it did in the majority of instances) an imperious economic necessity which forced the child to leave school at the earliest age at which the compulsion of the law was withdrawn. For these reasons the school was never that powerful institution in the advancement of the northern Negro which it might have been under a different set of economic and social circumstances.

There were but few fraternal orders. The more established residents among the Negro population were likely to be too clannish and complacent with their own success in the making of adjustments to provide more than a cool welcome for the never-ending stream of newcomers, especially to the

intimacy of their secret societies. Even had they been desirous of extending a more than perfunctory welcome, it must be remembered that these communities were kept continually on the edge of complete disorganization by the constant accretions to their numbers. Certain Negro fraternal societies did flourish in the North, but there was never the spontaneity nor the coöperative success that was so characteristic of the South.

There was left one institution which did form at least a basis for community organization, and for binding together, although in numerous sects, the interests of the heterogeneous population found in the Negro "ghettos" of the North. This institution was the Negro church. In several instances Negro leaders broke away from the established communions and established denominations in which they felt that their freedom to worship God would not be circumscribed by race, as they had found from experience was the case where they continued in alignment with their white fellow communicants. In other instances Negroes retained membership in the same denominations with white persons, but were forced to the establishment of separate churches. Only in rare instances in the North at any time following the beginning of the nineteenth century did Negro and white Christians continue to worship before the same altar.

The development of Negro congregations gave

an opportunity for leadership and for social cohesion which was impossible in the churches in which the white membership predominated. If it had these advantages, however, it did not grow overnight into that powerful community agent which is the modern ideal of the Church. Religious persuasion in both white and black churches of the period was given more to the art of saving souls through eloquence and fervor than to social deeds and community organization. The Church, then, fell far short of meeting the ideal of an institution which, in the face of the terrific need, might serve as a saving leaven for the almost totally disorganized frontier communities on which Negroes found themselves.

The rigorous and formalized discipline of the churches was not likely to attract the enthusiastic attendance of the younger members of these communities—young men and women whose very presence on the frontier indicated their extreme dislike of conventionalities and restrictions. It was a time when dancing, racing, and card playing were forbidden to members of fundamentalist churches, whether white or Negro. Dancing and card playing, especially, were anathema, and were sufficient cause for excommunication by almost all of the Negro religious bodies.

Before the advent of the motion-picture theater, there was no form even of commercialized amusement aside from the corner saloon. A visitor to a

Negro urban church forty years ago would have been struck with the marked scarcity of young men in the congregations. The hordes of young men who came northward looking for employment were obliged to find cheap quarters in the cheapest portion of the Negro district; and, no matter how decent had been the family from which the migrant came, in most cases he was obliged to frequent cheap lodging houses, where he found wretched beds, unsanitary surroundings, and a low level of moral life. The churches made little or no effort to reach this class of the Negro population. The few who actually did participate in church life came because the institution represented an opportunity to form and maintain social contacts, and not because it represented a religious force. The church was a meeting place for worship and entertainment, where one renewed acquaintances, or made new ones. The spontaneity with which little groups clotted together after the services was much more impressive than the stolidity with which they suffered during the sermon as though awaiting its conclusion for the brief moment of social conversation.

All of the young men, however, were not entirely unregenerate. A small but influential number were deeply concerned with evangelizing not only non-church men of their own acquaintance but also with reaching the larger group unrelated to any church. They saw in the opportunity to reach

the young men beyond the influence of home or religious training a highly necessary and eminently proper extension of the spirit of Christian brotherhood. This opportunity was not to come, however, until the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1853; and its greatest promise and fulfilment were not to come among Negro boys and girls for more than a half century after that beginning date.

E

To complete our preliminary picture of the plight of the northern Negro in the last half of the nineteenth century, it may be not amiss to recall the intense propaganda which was engendered toward the end of that period by discussions of Negro crime, both in the South and in the North. In 1899 Governor Vardaman of Mississippi argued that it was wrong to spend money on the education of Negroes in that State. He pointed to the high rate of commitments to penitentiaries in his own State, where Negro convicts exceeded whites in the proportion of four to one. To clinch the point, he cited statistics of commitments of Negroes to northern jails, where the rate of Negro commitments to penitentiaries, in proportion to the relative population of both races, was ten times that of whites. The Negro in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, the governor continued, had a much better education than

the Mississippi Negro, and had a lower illiteracy rate. This, then, he believed to be conclusive proof that it was a mistake to give Negroes an education; and that the North, with its free schools and show of equal opportunity, had entirely corrupted the race, as even limited freedom in Mississippi had nearly done.

At the period of which we have spoken here many of the best friends of the Negro race became convinced that there was something morally wrong with the fiber of the race; and that, after all, freedom had been perhaps a doubtful blessing. It was true then, as it is today, that the rate of commitments to jails and penitentiaries among Negroes far exceeded that for whites, and this was true particularly of the North. In 1910 Negroes were but 1.8 per cent of the population of the North, but they were estimated by the United States Census Bureau to furnish 13.1 per cent of the adult and juvenile offenders in penal or reformatory institutions. In the South they were 29.8 per cent of the population, but furnished 70.1 per cent of incarcerated offenders. In the South, Negroes were committed twice as frequently as their percentage in the population warranted; in the North this commitment rate was more than seven times their proportion of the population.

The continuance of these high rates today has gained in some quarters an interpretation less biological than formerly obtained. We cannot at-

tempt here an excursion into the field of crime and punishment, but it is obvious, as Professor Thorsten Sellin has pointed out, that crime statistics yield data only on criminality that is known, and that it is also true that Negroes are arrested and convicted more frequently than white persons *because of the prejudiced world in which they live.* But let us grant that the Negro community has more than its share of offenders against the public order. In a day when we have begun to discover something about the geography and class location of offenders, it is clear that high criminal rates among immigrants, Negroes, or any other poorly-circumstanced group are a symptom of underlying social or economic maladjustment. Excessive criminality, especially among the young, is also symptomatic of the conflict of personalities and cultures, and is intensified where individuals are required to make in short order a new adjustment to an unfamiliar situation.

Looked at in this manner, the excessive crime rates among Negroes in the period under consideration are the outward signs of the fact that the Negro in the North, and in the urban centers of the South, lives on a permanent frontier. The wise student of human behavior today is inclined to view high illegitimacy rates, high homicide rates, or high indices of any sort of social disorganization, as the medical student would view the outbreak of epidemics of smallpox or typhoid fever.

The expert in sanitation wastes no time in talking about the fearful weight of divine displeasure or inheritable deficiencies which may be the cause of numerous deaths from typhoid; he begins at once to trace the infection to its source in a polluted food or water or milk supply. So this modern student—and he need not be charitable so long as he remains scientific—may regard the high indices of social disorganization among Negroes in the past as the surface expressions of more fundamental maladjustments in the life of the individual. This Negro is diseased, he is criminal, he is highly disorganized with respect to almost every factor that makes for personal and communal adjustment. But it is easily seen that he is making a violent transition from one frame of life to another; that his environment never has time to stabilize before it is rudely disturbed and thrown into a new unrest; that he is economically insecure; that his education has been uncertain; that his community life has but a brief tradition in its new setting. In short, he is a pioneer living on a rude frontier, but with this difference—he is a pioneer with inadequate preparation for his task, and it is a frontier where physical and social recklessness is never quite tamable.

And if this Negro be a young man, or a young woman, one finds the possibilities of conflict more abundant, the raw crises of life more unsettling, the difficulties of adjustment more terrible in

their consequences. Certainly no population ever needed more the guiding presence of strong institutionalized forces working with old and with young, but particularly with the young. Such an institution was promised by the development of the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF AN INSTITUTION

A: Beginnings

When the first Young Men's Christian Association was established in this country in 1851, Harriet Beecher Stowe was just completing the manuscript of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 had been on the statute books for one year, and the exultation of southern slave holders at this national affirmation of the legal status of their "peculiar institution" was matched by the degree of despair on the part of northern Negroes, many of whom took immediate steps to leave the country and to settle in Canada.

It is interesting here to recall that the Young Men's Christian Association had its setting in England (and in America as well) during the period dominated by the personality of that queen who gave her name to the age and culture described as Victorian. As a natural growth from the earnest and sincere convictions of the men who originated it, the Young Men's Christian Association began with the urban, middle-class occupational levels where sobriety and piety might be expected to flourish. The typical member of the early Association was likely to be a young clerk, or account-

ant, or minor professional figure, whose roots were either in the rural soil from which he had recently departed in the search for commercial success in the large city, or in the middle-class families whose sturdy virtue had resisted stubbornly the disorganizing influences of urban life.

In considering the institutional workings of the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes, this fact of social and occupational selection, even during the earliest days, is of major significance. The relatively slow growth of the institution among Negroes reflects in no small degree the cultural lag of the Negro community in developing the economic classes upon which the institution traditionally rested. The growth of the Y. M. C. A. among Negroes, then, mirrors to a considerable extent the increasing stratification of the Negro community.

B: The First Negro Associations

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association among colored men began in Washington, D. C., two years after the first Association in this country was established in Boston. Its first president, a colored man named Anthony Bowen, was probably inspired in his work by his acquaintance with William Chauncey Langdon, a white friend with whom he worked in the Patent Office and who was the secretary of the movement in the city of

Washington. The actual work of organizing the Association was done by Bowen and other prominent Negroes in Washington. It is significant that the second Association, established in 1866, was in Charleston, South Carolina, which had been before the Civil War the center of a large free Negro population which had for decades maintained a community numbering in its midst many prosperous individuals and a high level of family stability. In this respect Charleston was similar to Washington. One year later (1867) the third Association began its work in New York City.

In the same year the Association in New York sent the first colored delegate, Mr. E. V. C. Eato, to the International Convention of Y. M. C. A.'s which was held that year in Montreal, Canada. Eato was an eloquent speaker, and the convention was so impressed with an address which he made concerning the need for the institutionalized services of the Y. M. C. A. among Negro men and boys that a resolution was adopted instructing the convention's committee on Associations "to report such measures as in their judgment will best promote the Association among our colored brethren throughout the United States and our British Provinces." On the passage of the resolution, General W. F. Gregory, an ex-Confederate officer of Petersburg, Virginia, stated from the platform that he would go home and labor among that class of the people whom his own race in the South were sup-

posed to hate.* After the adoption of this resolution several Associations were organized in the South; and the movement took such flourishing form in South Carolina that at least three state conventions were held by colored men.

The failure of the institution to maintain this early promise in the South can be linked directly to the conditions of that period of change and turmoil following the Civil War called Reconstruction. At the beginning of the period it appeared that there were to be no limits set to the progress and development of Negroes in that section. It was indeed a brave new world, and Negroes made great plans and nourished high hopes, not only regarding the political future of their race, but in all other fields in which their progress was to be measured by the standards characteristic of the white community. The end of Reconstruction meant not only the shattering of the dream of full participation by Negroes in the political destiny of the South; it meant also that they were to be relegated to their age-old rôle as inferiors—slaves in a sense almost as real as that of chattel slavery. For such a people the institution of the Y. M. C. A. was impossible, and promoters of the idea were obliged to limit themselves to work in the schools

* Jesse E. Moorland, "The Y. M. C. A. Among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IX, pp. 127-138. The author wishes to acknowledge his reliance upon Doctor Moorland's article for many of the historical facts set forth here.

and colleges, where a new generation gave promise of developing the social interests and economic status of the groups for which the Y. M. C. A. was normally suited.

The first student Association among colored men was organized in 1869 at Howard University, the purpose being the forwarding of Christian fellowship. Soon after, student Associations were organized at Fisk and Walden Universities in Nashville, Tennessee. During the International Convention of the Y. M. C. A. in Toronto, in 1876, Dr. Stuart Robinson of Louisville, Kentucky, made a fervent plea for a larger service among colored men. When informed of this appeal, Sir George Williams of London, England, the founder of the Y. M. C. A., contributed one hundred dollars toward the work of the colored Association, the only contribution on record made by Sir George for furthering the Y. M. C. A. work in the United States.

In 1877 it was reported at the Louisville Convention that General George D. Johnston of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, had been secured by the International Committee to promote the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in the South. General Johnston was prominent in forwarding the education of the Negro in the South in the face of great obstacles, and was a founder with other southern white men of Stillman Institute in Tuscaloosa, a secondary and theological school for

Negroes supported by the southern branch of the Presbyterian Church. General Johnston met with leaders of both races, studied the needs of colored men and boys, and succeeded in promoting work for them. The following quotation from one of General Johnston's addresses indicates both his method and the peculiar difficulties involved in performing almost any kind of work of social uplift for Negroes:

"It is hypocritical to be praying for the Chinese, Indians, or even the Negroes in Africa, and appealing for funds to send missionaries to them while we turn our own backs on the godly men at home who are teaching Christianity and call them 'nigger teachers.' Let us pray that the Holy Spirit may guide us and give us the discretion to act right."

He was succeeded in his work with the Y. M. C. A. by Henry E. Brown, who devoted his services entirely to the work among Negroes. Mr. Brown was a founder of Talladega College, a Negro school located at Talladega, Alabama, and supported by the American Missionary Association.

C: Negro Leadership

The first stage of the development of an institution among groups other than those among whom it originated must depend upon outside leadership for its first success. The progress of the movement—its rate of absorption into the culture of the group to which it is brought from the out-

side—may be measured by the degree to which "native" leadership succeeds "foreign" direction. When the innovation accumulates enough strength to develop its own leadership, it may be said to have shown signs of reaching maturity, of accession to the second stage of institutional development.

Theoretically, Negroes are not alien to the general cultural movements of the American scene. Actually the "Negro frontier," as we have suggested, has points of difference from the main American current which make it not unlike the situation which would prevail between two entirely discrete geographical units. Much of the early separation existing between the Y. M. C. A. Movement, among whites and Negroes, was due to the fact that equivalent social and economic classes did not exist in the two races. As Professor Park has stated it, the early history of racial contact in this country found the one race looking down from its own social pyramid to the other race, which had few divisions into social classes, and which was perforce composed of an undifferentiated mass of laborers and workmen on the lower economic levels. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, as Dr. Park continues in his explanation of these racial changes, the Negro group was developing differentiations in its own structure similar to those found among white persons; and the two races began to look across to each

other, finding within each group the same comparable cleavages into classes and different levels of economic and social ability.

This transition was witnessed in the development of the Y. M. C. A. among Negroes, first with an "alien" leadership which was obliged, for want of the class among Negroes corresponding to that which furnished the backbone for the movement among white persons, to confine its work to inspirational work among students in schools and colleges. The first signs of development along the lines suggested here among Negroes were followed by the rise of a Negro leadership to take the place of those noble white men who had brought the movement to Negroes. By 1888 the Y. M. C. A. had reached this point among Negroes, and the need for leaders drawn from the race was increasingly apparent. They were needed both as organizers of local Associations and in the fields already occupied.

In 1888 William A. Hunton, a colored man of Ottawa, Canada, was secured to promote the work in Norfolk, Virginia. He became the first paid colored executive of the Young Men's Christian Association. The activities which he set up there constituted an institution which became a model for other cities to follow. After he had two years of successful work there, the International Committee appointed him as an international secretary for colored work throughout the country. He held his office until his death in 1916.

In 1898, Jesse E. Moorland, a colored Congregational minister, who had been general secretary of the colored Association in Washington, joined with W. A. Hunton in the work of the colored men's department of the International Committee. Mr. Moorland gave most of his time to organizing the work in the cities, while Mr. Hunton continued most of his efforts with college students. The great difficulty of getting white Associations to consider even the question of establishing a colored department, with or without organic relations, was a cause for great concern to the two colored secretaries of the International Committee and to many white friends.

There are relatively few men now living who can realize the debt of gratitude the colored race owes William Alpheus Hunton and Jesse Edward Moorland. For many years these men stood as the only representatives of the colored race in the council of Young Men's Christian Associations. Under their wise leadership the establishment of confidence between the races and leadership within the race were brought about as they went from college to college and from city to city. The writer is very conscious at the present moment of the hundreds of men throughout the country—leaders in the religious, professional, and business life of the race—whose lives during their student days these men touched and helped to mold. Quietly and effectively they worked and from their efforts have

come, in an ever-widening circle, that mutual respect and good-will between the races which to some extent have dulled the sharp edge of racial cleavage.

D: The Period of Expansion

The colored Associations organized in cities attempted to carry on the fourfold program of the white Associations, but failed to do so in part because of the lack of proper building accommodations, adequate equipment, and trained leadership in developing the work. Deficiencies in all of these fields were striking, and reacted upon one another to complicate the situation still further; and in a day when there was a great demand for well-trained men in the field of teaching, with rewards that were relatively highly attractive, there was little to attract the college-trained Negro to this field, where pioneering offered the rewards of participating in a great and creative work, but little else. The paid officers of the local field were usually church employees, in some instances ministers, men well up in the middle years of life, whose participation in the Y. M. C. A. Movement was too frequently on a part-time basis. Characteristic activities were the promotion of employment offices, Sunday-afternoon religious services, and Bible classes. At least three of the earlier Associations held classes for adults in English, grammar, arithmetic, spelling, and singing. These

diversified activities give high tribute to the initiative of the men responsible for them, and furnish an insight into the early modifications of the traditional Y. M. C. A. program even at this early date —changes which were enforced by the needs of an economic group differing widely from that for which the program had first been proposed.

The buildings in some instances had a reading room containing a limited number of books donated by friends of the Association. There were occasional rooms for lectures and for other types of entertainment, which were promoted principally during the autumn and spring. The income from these entertainments formed a considerable part of the total income for the year. The secretary frequently went for weeks with no salary at all; and at times, upon the occasion of a visit from one of the colored secretaries of the International Committee, credit was strained at the corner grocery for the meager necessities of tea and cookies used during the social hour following conferences with boards of directors and committeemen.

It must also be patent that a large portion of the early difficulty in expanding the work of the Y. M. C. A. among Negroes was involved in adapting the program to a racial group most of whose members lived on a bare subsistence level. The Negro in the North was present in the cities only in comparatively small numbers, and the program of the white Y. M. C. A.'s, presupposing a population

largely engaged in the middle-class occupations of life, was largely inapplicable both from the standpoint of its nature and of its support. In the South the large Negro urban populations were living almost entirely on the lowest scale of existence, and the extreme disorganization of the communities, added to the simplicity of a population drawn largely from a peasant agricultural class, heaped difficulty upon difficulty while it presented a grave and challenging invitation for entrance into the field. The need for institutionalized service was equalled only by the immense difficulties which an institution faced in attempting to establish itself. These were dark days in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association among colored men and boys—dark days that were to be brightened only by the wise philanthropy of a man of another race and of another religion.

It is safe to say that, because of these handicaps, the institutional program did not begin in any real sense until 1907. In that year George Foster Peabody gave a building in Columbus, Georgia, for use in the development of Y. M. C. A. work among Negroes. Soon afterward John D. Rockefeller, Sr., made a contribution toward the erection of a colored Y. M. C. A. in Washington. In a few other scattered communities local Associations had accumulated resources sufficient to begin placing the program on a full-time basis. The work of Hunton and Moorland, slow, laborious, but highly effec-

tive, was creating a consciousness in the minds of Negroes concerning the need for such a program as the Y. M. C. A. had to offer. Moreover, the Negro mass was emerging from its past inchoate sameness, and a class of young men was arising for which the Y. M. C. A. program held out both the gratification of a need and the opportunity for service. In spite of these challenging factors, neither the work of the Negro leaders, the long-recognized need, nor the internal development of the race could have precipitated the growth of the institution so powerfully as did the stimulation given to the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes by Julius Rosenwald.

E: Julius Rosenwald

Those who knew Mr. Rosenwald will agree that no one embodied more perfectly in his own personality, as well as in his gifts, the meaning of the word "philanthropist." He disparaged his own marvelous ability as a business executive, and in no hypocritical manner thought of himself as a "trustee of great wealth" in the common interest. The few restrictions which he placed upon his grants were always intended to stimulate, rather than to limit, the recipient in the solution of his own problems. In all of his gifts one may see the desire to affect through his philanthropy not only the immediate situation to which he contributed. His eyes were fixed on an objective only partially re-

vealed by the institution to which he contributed. That the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes should have been adjudged by him as worthy of aid is one of the best tributes to the men who laid the foundation of that institution. It is also one of the surest indications of the actual need for such an institution at such a time.

Shortly after a conference of the representatives of colored work held at Silver Bay, New York, in 1910, Jesse E. Moorland was called to Chicago by L. Wilbur Messer, general secretary of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, to promote a campaign for a building for colored men to cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He was to conduct a campaign among the colored people for fifty thousand dollars. W. J. Parker, associate of Mr. Messer in charge of the business management of the Association, was Mr. Moorland's constant companion in working out the details of the campaign. Before the campaign, Mr. Rosenwald invited Mr. Moorland, Mr. Messer, and Mr. Parker to have lunch with him. They did not know the purpose of the invitation. Mr. Rosenwald inquired rather carefully about the Y. M. C. A. work among colored men. Mr. Moorland described the extent to which the movement had progressed, and told Mr. Rosenwald that there was no single well-equipped building anywhere in the United States for colored people; and that the building in Washington, D. C., stood only partially completed

because of lack of funds. Mr. Rosenwald in a very matter-of-fact way then turned to Mr. Moorland and said that he would give $25,000 to every city in the United States which would raise an additional $75,000 for a building for colored men and boys. The announcement was so astounding that every one present was rendered speechless. Seeing their confusion Mr. Rosenwald laughingly said,

"Well, I guess you can't do more than one a month but I hope you can."

Mr. Rosenwald later confirmed his offer in a letter addressed to the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago under the date of December 28th, 1910.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO

GENTLEMEN:

I have been considering for some time the question of the best method of assisting the colored people, particularly in our large cities, in securing such facilities for education and recreation as are offered to others through your organization in Chicago and similar organizations in other cities. It has seemed to me that both in the interest of the colored race and in the interest of the country, it is essential that there should be in every community in which there are large numbers of colored people a building primarily for men and boys, devoted to such purposes for their use. They have not as yet, in their own ranks, a sufficient number of people whose means would enable them to establish and adequately equip such institutions, and it is therefore, in my judgment, the duty of the white people of

this country, irrespective of their religious beliefs, to evidence their interest in the welfare of these, their neighbors, by assisting to supply this need.

In order, however, that such institutions may be successfully managed, it is important that some permanent organization take the matter in hand; and in my judgment there is no organization better suited for this work than the Young Men's Christian Association. If you will, therefore, undertake the task of raising funds in Chicago, and in any other cities of this country, for the purposes aforesaid, it will afford me great pleasure to contribute the sum of Twenty-Five Thousand ($25,000) Dollars for such an institution in every community in which, by popular subscription, you shall raise, within the next five (5) years, the additional sum of at least Seventy-five Thousand ($75,000) Dollars, the entire sum of not less than One Hundred Thousand ($100,000) Dollars to be devoted to the cost of the land, building and furnishings of such institution.

It shall be within your discretion to determine in what communities you shall endeavor to raise the funds for such an institution; but no such building shall be erected until you shall be satisfied of the ability of the local organizations, which will own and manage it, properly to administer and finance the local work.

Upon the statement by you, within the next five (5) years, through L. Wilbur Messer, General Secretary, and William J. Parker, Business Manager, or their successors, that *bona fide* subscriptions of at least the amount of Seventy-Five Thousand ($75,000) Dollars have been raised for the aforesaid purpose in any community, and that in your judgment the local organization is able properly to administer and finance the

Wabash Avenue Department
Chicago, Ill.

St. Antoine Street Branch
Detroit, Mich.

proposed work, my obligation as to the proposed institution in that community shall become absolute, and shall be paid through you as soon as the sum of at least Fifty Thousand ($50,000) Dollars of the amounts subscribed shall have been actually expended for land and building.

Thanking you for your good offices in undertaking this work, I am,

Very truly yours,
(signed) Julius Rosenwald.

The announcement of Mr. Rosenwald's offer to contribute twenty-five thousand dollars toward the erection of the Chicago building was made in January, 1911, at a public meeting attended by over five hundred prominent white and colored people of Chicago. The campaign followed immediately for ten days. Cyrus H. McCormick, President of the International Harvester Company and a prominent layman, announced at that meeting that he would contribute twenty-five thousand dollars toward the erection of a Y. M. C. A. building for the colored men and boys of Chicago, and N. W. Harris, a prominent banker and Y. M. C. A. layman, increased his subscription from fifteen thousand dollars to twenty-five thousand dollars for the Chicago building when Mr. Rosenwald made his offer. Near the close of the meeting an elderly colored man approached the platform and asked permission to speak. In a low voice he stated he had been saving his money for years for the purpose of leaving most of it to some institution.

After seeing the interest displayed by Mr. Rosenwald and other white men in the welfare of his race he wanted to do something to show at least his appreciation of their kindness. Therefore, he said he would give immediately one thousand dollars toward the erection of the Chicago building. He was James H. Tilghman, a janitor in the Illinois Bell Telephone Company Building. So pleased was Mr. Rosenwald with this display of interest by a colored man that he wrote Berhard E. Sunny, President of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company at that time, congratulating him on having so worthy a man in his employ. Mr. Rosenwald used the story many times to illustrate his belief that, when given an opportunity and help, members of the Negro race would respond to any effort put forth to improve their conditions. Mr. Tilghman is still living, is eighty-six years old, and is quite satisfied with the results of the work he helped to build. This thousand dollars was the first large sum of money to be given by a Negro for a Y. M. C. A. building. Since the erection of the building in Chicago as much as ten thousand dollars has been given by one Negro as a contribution in the building campaign of a Y. M. C. A. Various other single gifts ranging from one thousand to five thousand dollars have been given by other Negroes in different campaigns.

The original offer of Mr. Rosenwald to contribute twenty-five thousand dollars toward the

erection of Negro Y. M. C. A. buildings was made for a term of five years. At the end of the period in 1916, it was renewed again for two years on condition that one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars should be raised by the cities in order to secure Mr. Rosenwald's twenty-five thousand dollars. During the autumn of 1928 the Julius Rosenwald Fund took over the offer, together with some other personal contributions of Mr. Rosenwald. As a result of Julius Rosenwald's farsightedness in sensing the need for the Negro of a well-rounded program of religious, social, and physical development, twenty-five Y. M. C. A. and two Y. W. C. A. buildings have been erected at strategic points throughout the country at a cost of $5,815,969, to which Julius Rosenwald and the Julius Rosenwald Fund contributed $637,000, Negroes $472,319, and the general funds of the white Y. M. C. A.'s, or other white sources, $4,490,893. Fifty other cities not able to meet Mr. Rosenwald's offer, but inspired by his spirit, have organized colored Y. M. C. A. branches through the coöperative effort of white and colored people. One hundred and five student Associations have been organized throughout the United States and forty Associations in South Africa which are supervised by Negroes sent by North American Associations. The operating expenses of the colored Associations, in normal times, approximate $1,500,000 yearly, more than three-fourths of which is produced through income-

producing features of the buildings, such as dormitories, cafeterias, special fees, and membership dues. The remainder is either raised by contributions from many individuals or from community chests. When deficits occur, they are absorbed by the white Associations or charged to the branch with interest. It was Mr. Rosenwald's idea to have these Associations become as nearly self-sustaining as possible and, because of this desire, he did not contribute to their operating budgets.

It was Mr. Rosenwald's belief that, through the coöperative action of white and colored people in the building campaigns, the Negroes would be enabled to see the advantage of coöperative action and mass movement when working on large projects together; that the masses of Negroes meeting Negro leadership when working on these projects would become conscious of the ability and integrity of that leadership. To the white people interested and working in this coöperative effort for Negro Y. M. C. A. buildings Mr. Rosenwald believed would come an understanding of the problems faced by Negroes and, through that understanding, a growing interracial good-will and helpful efforts which would continue on throughout the years.

F: Development in Personnel

In 1911, Channing H. Tobias, then a teacher in Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, joined Mr.

Hunton and Mr. Moorland on the staff of the National Committee as student-work secretary. Upon the retirement of Mr. Moorland in 1923, Mr. Tobias succeeded him as the senior secretary of the colored work department of the National Council. Mr. Tobias' experiences as a member of the Interracial Commission (an organization begun soon after the Atlanta riots of 1909), his membership upon committees which studied relief work in Europe in 1921, and his work with committees at the Pan-African Congress held in London during the same year, peculiarly fitted him to guide the work of the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes at a time when Negro migration was provoking unrest, suspicion, and racial prejudices in the North. Mr. Tobias was particularly sensitive to the effects—economic and social—that were being produced in small as well as large northern cities by the sudden heavy increase in Negro population. He realized that not only must Mr. Rosenwald's offer continue to be met in the larger industrial cities, but that white Associations in smaller cities should be encouraged to erect Y. M. C. A. buildings for colored men and boys although it would be known from the beginning that the Negroes would not be able to support adequately such an institution.

Along with the need for additional Y. M. C. A. buildings, the secretaries on the staff of the International Committee realized the urgent need for

trained personnel to direct the program which these buildings and equipment would make possible; also that the colored staff of the International Committee would have to be enlarged to promote the work throughout the country. In a relatively short space of time the more important phases of the national program—city, student, industrial, and boys' work—were being promoted under the direction of Dr. Moorland and Dr. Tobias and with the advice of a prominent committee of colored laymen.

In order to supply the needed number of trained executives, efforts were put forth to make the Y. M. C. A. summer institute conducted at Arundel-on-the-Bay larger than it had been formerly. The faculty was increased. Nationally-known white and colored speakers were included on the programs, and a curriculum organized to meet the needs of college men working in the Y. M. C. A. who had but little training or experience in such work. Many laymen attending the institute for recreation only caught the vision of the brotherhood and sought to find in the work of the Y. M. C. A. a service which would develop a well-rounded program of Christian education. In addition to conducting the summer institutes at Arundel-on-the-Bay, the colored men's department recruited students for the Y. M. C. A. colleges at Springfield, Massachusetts, and in Chicago. In 1929, in order to stimulate the recruiting, the Julius Rosenwald

Fund made possible ten scholarships over a period of four years to be given to students who were well above the average and who would have been compelled to discontinue their studies because of financial reasons.

G: Support

The question of support has brought forth a variety of discussions from both white and colored people. Some white Association officials as well as some prominent white laymen felt that the Negro had not reached a high enough cultural stage to appreciate, attend, and support a Y. M. C. A. building which would be in every respect as good and in some cases as large as that for white men and boys. From many prominent and influential Negroes came the cry of a segregated institution which in northern cities would be but the first steps towards segregated public schools, playgrounds, and parks. Twenty years of experience with these modern buildings located in northern cities have shown, however, that the establishment of such segregated institutions has not resulted from the development of Negro branches of the Young Men's Christian Association. Such segregatory trends as are discernible can be traced to the heavy colonization of Negroes in certain urban areas, which has changed the complexion of schools and of other public places. It may be remembered that the superintendent of a northern city school

system once wrote to Booker T. Washington, asking the Tuskegee educator what he would recommend with reference to the segregation of races in the schools of the city in question. Washington replied that residential segregation would practically result in a segregated school, but that he did not believe that local school systems should force the issue by establishing segregated schools by mandatory statute.

Since the passage of residential segregation ordinances and laws has been outlawed by the Supreme Court of the United States, the Negro community in certain cities has been circumscribed by covenant agreements between property owners. If these agreements stand, it means that a rapidly-growing population will be penned in a congested district, with wretched housing conditions in generally-blighted areas. Up to now these covenants have not succeeded in their aim, and the Negro community in most of the northern cities has grown with explosive force beyond the boundaries set for it, and into neighborhoods where decent housing could be obtained.

It has been difficult for a great many white people to understand why Negroes do not or cannot support adequately such institutions as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and community houses. They see an occasional Negro living in a fine house, or are passed on the road by an infrequent Negro driving a large car; or they may see a large church

building crowded with worshippers, all of whom are dressed in good taste and many of whom wear expensive clothing. They see Negroes journeying to distant points; and they stand on the sidewalks of our great cities and see Negro fraternal societies lead past thousands of followers from the far corners of the land, all dressed with a magnificence of costume quite as impressive as anything in this line achieved by white Shriners, or Elks, or Wolves. The white witnesses to these extravagances wonder why these people do not give more money to the support of institutions and movements which are primarily used in the betterment of their race.

Now, much of the wonderment of white persons over the seeming affluence of Negroes as shown by these evidences is due, paradoxically enough, to the low economic status of the Negro. The sight of any Negro above the low level generally accepted as characteristic of the race is something of a shock to the consciousness: that Negro does not agree with the stereotype, and for that reason is noticed. Furthermore, it is not that the Negro really displays much wealth; for many of the indications of "wealth" which are remarkable when seen in connection with him by white people are but middle-class manifestations among the whites. Ten-room houses owned by some Negroes may be regarded as examples of great wealth in the race, but they would be but ordinary dwellings if set down in the miles and miles of genteel suburbs found around

any large city and inhabited by white people. A high-priced car owned by a Negro may create a sensation, but where such an automobile may be owned by one out of a hundred thousand Negro motorists, the ratio among whites would be hardly more than one out of a hundred. But human nature is so illogical that the sight of the one Negro in the one Cadillac or Pierce Arrow immediately forces from the memory of the white witnesses the thousands of Negroes who ride in battered Model T's or out-dated models of bigger cars, or who ride on bony mules or do not ride at all.

A moment's reflection would remind these white witnesses that there are no Negro Gold Coasts, no Negro yachting clubs, no Negro polo teams. They might even consider that the flaunting display of the very few may even be a somewhat pitiful exhibition of what Veblen has called "conspicuous consumption." In the South many Negroes purchase automobiles of a type apparently beyond their station in life because it is impossible for them to obtain transportation on the trains as comfortable as that provided for white passengers of the same economic standing. Barred from Pullman cars, Negroes frequently prefer to drive hundreds of miles in automobiles rather than to endure the torture of the grimy, uncomfortable, and frequently overcrowded coaches. It may also be possible that the Negro frequently "overspends" because only in this manner can he achieve status,

owing to the limitations which hedge about other sorts of recognition for him.

Whatever the facts, however, it is becoming increasingly evident that white contributors to Negro institutions are expecting Negroes to become more conscious of their financial responsibility to organizations working for the general advancement of the race.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM— SERVICE IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

A: War Work

With the maturing of the Y. M. C. A. as an institution among Negroes came increasing opportunities for that service "both in the interest of the colored race and in the interest of the country" which Julius Rosenwald had envisioned in 1910. The possibility for distinguished service was all the greater among Negroes because of the lack of other institutions found generally among white people for performing the tasks which it assumed. The work of the Y. M. C. A. among Negro soldiers, although now chiefly a matter of historical interest, is important in considering the present program of the Y. M. C. A. It is significant that none of the criticisms of the Y. M. C. A. war program emanated from Negro soldiers, or were levelled at the work of the Negro secretaries. For many of the Negro recruits, their camp experience was their first introduction to such an organization. The many warm friends which the Y. M. C. A. made among these soldiers are largely responsible for the rapid growth of the Association among Negroes after the War. Furthermore, the extreme flexi-

bility and "infinite variety" required of the war work service gave invaluable training to the men who were to carry on the program on home soil after the end of the hostilities.

The Y. M. C. A. received its first "baptism of fire" during the course of the Spanish-American war, when its services were deemed almost indispensable by the rank and file of the soldiers as well as by the officials of the Army and Navy.

Soon after the outbreak of war between Germany and the United States, an officers' training camp for colored soldiers was established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. Doctor Moorland was given the responsibility of recruiting colored Y. M. C. A. secretaries who would minister to these men as well as to the men at Camp Dodge, Camp Meade, Camp Dix, and the other military cantonments throughout the country and in foreign fields. Through the efforts of Doctor Moorland and his assistants, including Robert B. DeFrantz, William J. Faulkner, Max Yergan, Professor Charles H. Wesley, J. Francis Gregory, and George L. Johnson, two hundred and sixty-eight secretaries were recruited for service in fifty-five army camps at home and forty-nine secretaries for service overseas. Many of the secretaries serving in these camps were recruited from the colleges and from the commercial and professional life of the race. Doctor George W. Cabaness, a prominent surgeon, who was then the chairman of the Y. M. C. A.

branch in Washington, entered the training camp at Fort Des Moines with the soldiers on the first day of their arrival and left with them when they went overseas. William H. Beckett, LeRoy W. Tucker, Shelby J. Davidson, E. Snyder, R. T. Weatherby, W. H. Kindle, B. B. Church, and many other well-trained men in and out of Y. M. C. A. work were among the first to be recruited for service in the Association's army work. Mrs. W. A. Hunton, wife of the first secretary of the colored department of the Y. M. C. A., Mrs. J. L. Curtis, and Miss Katherine Johnson were three of twelve outstanding Negro women who were selected by Doctor Moorland to serve in the camps overseas as well as in this country. In the South, where many Negro men were trained, the colored secretaries proved to be a valuable link between the drafted soldiers and the white southern officers who trained them. In several of the southern camps buildings were set aside for the work of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries and these buildings became at once the rallying points of the soldiers, constantly crowded to capacity. Arrangements were made through the secretaries with the banks to pay the soldiers at the Y. M. C. A. building. Hundreds of letters were written home for the men sending money to their families.

This work, according to Doctor Moorland, was carefully planned. Usually the staff included an executive secretary, an educational secretary, a reli-

gious-work secretary, and an athletic director. Whenever possible a social secretary was also employed, whose duty it was to promote entertainment, including moving pictures and various kinds of social activities. Educational classes were run continuously to teach the large number of illiterates to read and write their names.

The colored Y. M. C. A. workers in France were paid a high tribute by General W. F. Creary. In a letter to William Stevenson, secretary of Hut Number 2, General Creary said:

I have seen the working of your huts along the line, from the front line trenches to the base ports, and have been a personal recipient of the comforts afforded by them on many occasions.

I have always been impressed by the zeal with which the secretaries and others have prosecuted their work with untiring energy, and with valor and bravery.

I have been particularly interested in the activities of your huts devoted exclusively to the interests of colored soldiers since my assumption of the command of this camp, and I congratulate you on the progress you have made, and are making now.

Besides the splendid athletic, social, and canteen service offered by yourself and your assistants, I have been much impressed by your activities in the educational departments, and have been much pleased to see many of our colored soldiers who have had but few advantages of early education availing themselves of the advantages offered by you for the acquirement of knowledge of the elementary branches of education.

Your thrift department is the means of many of our men saving their money and purchasing money orders

to send back home, thereby placing their money where it should be.

Concerning our colored women on the staff of the Y. M. C. A. in France, General Creary said:

> The effective work of these three splendid colored women together with others scattered throughout the army will be in evidence long after this war has been fought to a glorious peace. When I consider that all of these Y. M. C. A. people, and most especially the women, forsook comfortable homes and zones of culture and refinement to come over here and, far from immediate relatives, bury themselves among these colored soldiers in order that the greatest amount of *sunshine* might be *shoved* into the lives of these men helping to establish world democracy, I could not help but feel that those of the race, back in the states, who are at an absolutely safe distance from German bullets, shrapnel and gas, should consecrate themselves, also, so far as within their power, to the rendering of aid and comfort to these soldiers of ours.

In addition to the many secretaries working with soldiers in this country and in France, there were other men of color who served—especially overseas—in a very important way. Among them were Dr. John Hope, then president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. H. H. Proctor, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Atlanta; and Max Yergan, who had seen service with the troops in India and Africa. The value of the service rendered by these leaders was inestimable in removing friction points of many kinds, advising

staff officers concerning matters of discipline, and administering in many other ways to the welfare of the soldiers in France.

Doctor R. R. Moton, at the request of President Wilson and the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, went to France to study the conditions affecting Negro soldiers. In his autobiography, Dr. Moton writes,

> Secretary Baker and President Wilson felt that my going to France would be encouraging to the men, and that the presence and words of a member of their own race would be particularly helpful, in view of all of the conditions under which they were serving the nation, and at the same time inviting me to make suggestions that might in my judgment help the situation.

While in France Doctor Moton visited the majority of places where Negroes were stationed, speaking to the men and encouraging them to "carry on" in spite of the various rumors, myths, or other types of falsehoods concerning their bravery, morals, or general conduct. Doctor Moton conferred with Colonel E. M. House, Bishop Brent, Senior Chaplain of the American Expeditionary Forces, General Pershing, and other officials of the American and French governments.

Doctor Moton visited many of the Y. M. C. A. huts and found a fine spirit of coöperation between the white and the colored workers. He took advantage of the opportunity whenever it presented

itself to speak to Negro soldiers about the splendid record they were making and of the danger that would attend any failure on their part to maintain their record untarnished. In one address, he said:

> The record you have made in this war, of faithfulness, bravery, and loyalty, has deepened my faith in you as men and as soldiers as well as in my race and country. You have been tremendously tested. You have suffered hardships and many privations. You have been called upon to make many sacrifices. Your record has sent a thrill of joy and satisfaction to the hearts of millions of black and white Americans, rich and poor, high and low. Black mothers and wives, sweethearts, fathers and friends have rejoiced with you and with our country in your record.
>
> You will go back to America heroes, as you really are. You will go back as you have carried yourselves over here—in a straightforward, manly, and modest way. If I were you, I would find a job as soon as possible and get to work. To those who have not already done so, I would suggest that you get hold of a piece of land and a home as soon as possible, and marry and settle down. Save your money, and put it into something tangible. I hope no one will do anything in peace to spoil the magnificent record you have made in war.

In the same way he addressed white soldiers —officers and men. To them in an address he said among other things:

> These black soldiers, officers and men, have with you willingly and gladly placed their lives at the disposal of their country, not only "to make the world safe for democracy," but, of equal importance, "to

make democracy safe for mankind, black and white." You and they go back to America as heroes, brave and modest, of course, but there is a difference; you go back without let or hindrance with every opportunity our beloved country offers open to you. You are heirs of all the ages. God has never given any race more than he has given you. The men of my race who will return will have many hardships and limitations along many lines. What a wonderful opportunity you have, therefore, and what a great responsibility for you, to go back to America resolved that so far as in your power lies you are going to see that these black men and the twelve millions of people whom they represent in our great country, who have stood loyally by you and America in peace and in war, shall have a fair and absolutely equal chance with every other American citizen, along every line. This is your sacred obligation and duty. They ask only fair play and, as loyal American citizens, they should have it.

It was by such men as these, Doctor R. R. Moton, Doctor John Hope, Max Yergan, and the several hundred colored Y. M. C. A. secretaries, that the Negro soldiers serving in both home and foreign fields were helped to make their contribution to what at that time was thought to be the beginning of a world democracy.

B: Max Yergan

There have been Negroes within the last two decades who have bewailed the fact that the race in the United States has produced no great men comparable to the stature of the founder of Tuske-

gee Institute, Booker T. Washington. It is, perhaps, too much to ask of fate that she should lavish more than one such personality, "born for the Ages," upon a race within so short a period. But those who have seen, beyond the borders of our own land, the unrolling of a new dramatic adventure in human relations, have felt that a man had appeared whose contribution to civilization promised as much in its way as the life of the slave-born educator of the last generation.

This new figure is that of Max Yergan, and the shadow of his monumental achievements reaches already to three continents, where they have been made known to men. It was once said of Hampton Institute in Virginia that, had it done no more than train Booker T. Washington, its mission would find justification. There is a reason for pride in the fact that it was in the Y. M. C. A. that Max Yergan first found inspiration for his life; that from the Y. M. C. A. came the first opportunity for this glowing inspiration to reach out to others; and that much of his magnificent accomplishment has been through the organized channels of the Y. M. C. A.

Max Yergan was a brilliant student at Shaw University, in North Carolina, and he was also a brilliant athlete. During his last two years of college study he served as president of the student Young Men's Christian Association. During these years the student secretaries of the International

Committee came to know him as one of the young Negro men of America whose character and promise gave justification to their work. In 1914 Yergan addressed the great student conference held in Atlanta, and he made the confession of faith that the spirit of the conference had led him there to give up the idea of pursuing the vocation of law as his life's calling, and to devote his life to some form of Christian service.

After a year's study at the Springfield Training College, Yergan entered the student work of the Y. M. C. A. In answer to the appeal of E. C. Carter, National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. work in India, Yergan volunteered to go to that country for service with the British troops under the Indian Y. M. C. A. Later Yergan was given a chance to accompany troops either to Mesopotamia or on an East African campaign. He decided upon East Africa, landing in the late autumn of 1916 at Dar-es-Salaam. He did his work so well that the British official in charge of the Y. M. C. A. work cabled Doctor John R. Mott in America that if he had any other young colored men like Yergan to send six of them to Africa. The six were recruited and joined Yergan in Africa, where two subsequently died of fever. Yergan himself was forced to return to America, broken in health, a sufferer from the same deadly affliction.

But Yergan went back to Africa. What is more, he went to South Africa, to a land where every

American Negro was suspect, where five million natives occupied 14 per cent of the land, and one and a half million whites had seized the remaining 86 per cent. He went to a land where the bitterest prejudice of his own land seemed child's play in the face of the terrific racial hatred engendered by the presence of a minority master class always fearful of the prostrate, chained giant at its feet.

Yergan wanted to settle in Johannesburg with his wife and four-months'-old baby, to begin his work in extending the services of the Y. M. C. A. to the native population. It is said that in this city of three hundred thousand people, where natives are obliged to walk in the middle of the streets while white men only use the sidewalks, he was unable to rent a decent house for his small family. He finally settled in Alice, in the Cape Colony, where Fort Hare, the college for native youth, is located.

Since 1921 South Africa has seen the passage of additional amendments making more stringent the Colour Bar Bill, which bars to Negroes entry into skilled occupations. Since Yergan's coming South Africa has witnessed perpetual agitation and political action aimed at reducing the native still further to the condition of a rural slave, and industrial serf. There is brutality undreamed of in America; there is disease and degradation on the part of the native population far beyond that of the worst ghettoes in America.

But South Africa has also seen the coming of Max Yergan and the Y. M. C. A. It has seen a Negro move with dignity and courage, with that quality which in lesser men is called "tact," but which in Max Yergan is the irresistible conviction carried into the hearts of the most prejudiced that "here is a man." South Africa has seen the unprecedented spectacle of white students talking to black students, not as master to cringing cur, but as man to man across a serene conference table. To South Africa this is a miracle.

This man has organized forty Associations among African students. He has entrenched the Y. M. C. A. firmly in the hearts and activities of the native population. But he has transcended both the limits of the Association which sponsored him, and the barriers of race, which are stronger in no other part of the world. Max Yergan is preaching the gospel of peace, of fellowship; and his personality speaks as eloquently as his lips.

"The man of me," says Mary White Ovington, "is what the native calls this colored American, the wonderful dark man who has accomplished so much, and who, unlike the half-breed 'colored' of the Cape, does not scorn his primitive brothers, but rejoices in serving them."

C: Interracial Work in the Y. M. C. A.

During the winter of 1918-1919 there was considerable anxiety in the South concerning the

trend which race relations would take in that section following the return of the Negro soldiers to their home communities. More than four hundred thousand men of the Negro race had been engaged in the World War "to save democracy." A large number of these men had served overseas with the American Expeditionary Force, and had lived in countries where a tradition of racial equality had led the population to welcome them with no discrimination on the basis of color. Sanguinary clashes between the races in Chicago, New York, Washington, and Atlanta in the course of 1919 gave justification for the anxiety if not for the rumors and propaganda which caused it. Many of these difficulties had a definite economic basis. A bloody riot in East St. Louis as far back as 1917 was the result of labor troubles caused by the introduction of large numbers of Negro workers to the industrial plants of that city, and resulting in bitter competition between white and black workers.

The war boom soon collapsed, leaving the returned soldiers of both races frequently without employment. The refusal of the white labor unions to accept Negro members, combined with the occasional use of Negroes as strike-breakers, created a series of unfortunate racial clashes.

In order to quench, if possible, the fires of racial antagonisms which were flashing in all sections of the country, the Commission on Interracial Coöperation was organized in Atlanta, Georgia, in

1919. Its promoters believed that the only road to interracial peace was mutual understanding; that, if white and colored people understood each other, they would not fight; and that, if given the facts about any situation, the best of each group would try to do the right thing about it. On these principles the commission drew together a membership of representative white and Negro leaders from all parts of the South and quickly set up in each southern State and in local communities interracial committees similarly constituted. A campaign of good-will throughout the South was projected, aimed at the creation of a better spirit, the correction of grievances, and the promotion of understanding and sympathy between the races. In specific terms the purpose of the campaign was twofold:

1. The correction of interracial injustices and the betterment of conditions affecting Negroes.
2. The improvement of those interracial attitudes out of which unfavorable conditions grow.

The method used by the Commission on Interracial Coöperation to achieve its end was through committees and conference groups in churches, women's clubs, southern white colleges, and wherever the Commission could interest colored and white southerners to discuss together the prob-

lems common to both groups. Through the personal contacts made under such circumstances it was hoped that such friendly feelings could be developed between the Negro race and white people of standing and responsibility that rioting, lynching, and other violence would be prevented. The work of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is but one of the evidences of the success of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation in the field of interracial relations.

When an exhaustive study is made of the different methods used by the various organizations working in the field of race adjustment, the philosophy of the committee and conference method used by Doctor W. W. Alexander, a white southern minister, Director of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, and his co-workers, will probably prove to be the soundest one when considered over the years in contrast to the more direct and sometimes violent technique used by other organizations working in the same field. No other way could have succeeded in the South at the time of the organization of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation.

When, in 1919, it was decided to organize the Commission, appeals for financial assistance were made to the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. "It probably was quite logical," Dr. Alexander said, "that the appeal should have been made to

that organization." An appeal was made early in January and a preliminary appropriation was made. The financial support of the organization was carried on through 1921, by the end of which time the funds of the War Work Council were exhausted. The Interracial Committee of the Y. M. C. A. Movement then carried the salary of the director of the commission and the funds with which to carry on the activities generally were secured from other sources. Doctor Alexander states, "Almost as important as the money which came to us from these Y. M. C. A. sources were the guidance, inspiration, and help which the commission received from Dr. John R. Mott and his associates in the secretaryship, and from certain laymen who were serving on the Interracial Commission; namely, such men as William Sloane, Cleveland Dodge, and others."

Before the origin of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation in 1919, and which functions entirely in the South, the colored Y. M. C. A. buildings in northern cities, and entirely in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast, were the center and largely the originators of efforts for interracial peace. In these buildings were held most of the interracial meetings, and in the Y. M. C. A. activity programs there were games scheduled for white and colored basket and volley ball teams to play in the colored Y. M. C. A. buildings and on the gymnasium floors of the white associations. In

some cities white and colored boys have been swimming together in the Y. M. C. A. pools for the past fifteen years; in other cities they share the same summer camps. These efforts to bring the youth of the two races together in friendly play are not typical, but they indicate a trend in the right direction, and are both the cause and the direct result of a better interracial understanding and good-will between the races.

Most of the cities in which the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A.'s are located operate under what is known in Y. M. C. A. circles as the "Metropolitan System." Under this system the chairman of the governing body of the local branches becomes eligible for membership on the board of managers —a body which governs the policies of the city-wide Association. In many of those cities where interracial work has been going on within the Association group the colored chairmen of committees of management have been elected to the general board of managers. Experiences of this kind in Chicago, New York, Toledo, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Philadelphia, Springfield (Ohio), and Los Angeles, indicate that the presence and counsel of the colored men on these governing boards have increased the friendly feelings and interest of the board of managers for the importance of the work done in the colored branches. These branches are also represented on the state committees of Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Mary-

land, the District of Columbia, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, and Ohio.

From the various city Associations where interracial work has been a part of the program of activities have gone white and colored secretaries and laymen to the conventions of the Y. M. C. A. Movement in the United States and in Canada, and less frequently to the world conferences of the Movement held in different countries. So strong has been the influence of these delegates, along with that of many others from foreign countries, concerning the stand the Y. M. C. A. should take on the question of interracial good-will, that the 765 official delegates of the last world's conference of the Young Men's Christian Association assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1931, endorsed the following resolution:

1. The Conference endorses the following statement of basic principles which should guide the Association's policy in regard to Race Relations:

(a) We should set forth our conviction that racial and cultural variations offer an opportunity for enrichment of culture through fellowship across racial and cultural lines. This variation in no sense justifies a sense of inferiority or superiority on the part of any group.

(b) We further affirm our conviction that all races have a real contribution to make to the enrichment of the life of humanity. The Y. M. C. A. should, therefore, facilitate in every way possible the making of such a contribution by every group in the community.

(c) The supreme value of the personality of every

man is clearly set forth in the teaching of Jesus, and is one of the unique contributions of Christianity to human relationships; therefore, it is not Christian for any institution to be indifferent to situations in which human beings are scorned or treated with disrespect.

(d) Since all people are children of a common Father, we deny that state of cultural achievement has any bearing on inferiority or superiority of race. We believe that all races are capable of full cultural, mental, and spiritual development, and we call on Associations everywhere to facilitate this development for all men and boys in every land.

(e) The Y. M. C. A. has a common obligation to all the young men and boys of any community in which it exists. We express our conviction that, in conformity with the principles of Christ, Associations should not forget or neglect any group of young men or boys living in their communities, nor exclude them from membership merely on the basis of race.

2. The Conference, while recognizing that society may not be changed in a day and that the Y. M. C. A. must exist in the midst of society, nevertheless declares its conviction that patience without effort toward improvement is unchristian. It, therefore, calls upon every Association to take such immediate next steps as the following:

(a) The carrying forward of an educational program of racial understanding. There are few subjects on which there is less accurate information and more deep-seated prejudice through all educational processes which we may be able to command.

(b) As a part of such an educational process, local Associations are urged to provide frequently a platform on which different races may speak through their respective leaders; and in the various communities throughout the world to bring together from time to

time the choicest spirits of differing racial groups for conference and acquaintance, in order that each group may come to know the other at its best.

(c) In the organization of national gatherings of the Y. M. C. A. in any country, care should be taken to see that all delegates may be received without discrimination as to accommodations and privileges.

3. The Conference adopts the following statement as to the Associations' ideal goal in relation to the above next steps:

It recognizes that there may be difficulties at present as to the distance any local Association may go in serving various racial groups together, but urges upon every Association the obligation to take the above next steps in order that the Movement may the sooner come to what the Conference believes is the ideal, namely, the making possible of the enlistment and full participation in the Association enterprise of all classes of young men and boys in the community without distinction of race, culture, or nationality.

This contribution which the Y. M. C. A. has already made to the enormously difficult problems involved in the accommodation of the two races to each other holds much more promise for the future. Race relations in America are gradually shifting from a purely sectional issue to one that is both national and international. Max Yergan in Africa, carrying to his primitive brethren and to their white masters the message of the gentle Nazarene, finds himself faced with this international problem which disturbs the world today as never before. The reverberations of old and lively

racial animosities which still exist in Europe, the clash between oriental and occidental cultures, and our own American situation find us facing the fact as a difficult but not inevitable problem of the world citizen. Western civilization must solve this problem if it is to achieve its highest aims; the alternative to the modification and eventual suppression of racial hatreds is certainly the collapse, if not of our culture, at least of the finer human feelings.

The Interracial Commission and the Y. M. C. A. have collaborated in developing techniques applicable to these situations. The extension of these techniques is highly advisable. What is needed, however, as much as anything else, is the realization by lay and professional members of the Young Men's Christian Association that their movement is founded on the ideal of Christian fellowship; and that brotherhood is, in some respects, vital in our present facing of these difficult problems. The situation is too complex to be reduced to formula; but social justice in race relations must consider economic complications, must possess great charity, and must be inspired by high courage. In brief, we need only to take our name seriously.

D: Kings Mountain Student Conference

In 1912 began one of the most far-reaching student conferences in the history of the Young

Men's Christian Association Movement in America. This conference group, conducted by W. A. Hunton and C. H. Tobias, assisted by David D. Jones, established itself at Kings Mountain, North Carolina, for "the purpose of bringing together the leaders of the Y. M. C. A. of the colored colleges for discussion, counsel, and prayer. Delegates from twenty-nine Associations were present. Prayer, study, recreational meetings, and good fellowship were the order of the day."

The conferences have been a powerful leaven in the lives of thousands of young Negro students, and no single work of the Y. M. C. A. in the larger field has been more significant. The importance of these conferences can be estimated from the fact that to them have gone throughout the years as speakers and teachers practically all of the outstanding ministers and educators of the Negro race. From the various Negro colleges and communities have gone students very much concerned with their own future and the future of the race. Under their earlier environment personality conflicts had completely disorganized many of these students for constructive thinking. Upon entering college they were confronted with new situations made up of entirely new influences. Old standards had to be cast aside and new ones conformed to. On the other hand, the colleges themselves, representing as they did a much-enlarged environment, sometimes disorganized a student's personality as he

divorced himself from the old ways of life found in small towns and country districts of the South. To get these students to think constructively in terms of life's problems and service to others was one of the objectives of the conferences. Of the many students who have been delegates at these conferences, three are now university presidents; three are college professors; five are leading ministers in the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist churches; and Max Yergan, the best-known of all internationally, is an officer of the International Committee staff located in South Africa.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM—SERVICE IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

A: Religious Work

During the period before the Y. M. C. A. program among Negroes took institutional form, the work of the International Committee secretaries was restricted almost entirely to inspirational work among young men and boys that was deeply religious in character. For the period during which buildings for Negroes have made possible a true institutional program, no amount of expanded activities has been allowed to interfere with this early devotion to the religious work of the Association.

Eight, or 32 per cent, of the twenty-five Associations reported Sunday-afternoon services held in the Association's buildings. Three of these eight Associations, together with seven others, reported Sunday-afternoon religious services held jointly with the young people's societies in churches. Three Associations reported the promotion of religious-work institutes where those attending were Sunday-school superintendents and teachers. Twelve Associations reported twenty-one different Bible classes using standard texts. New York and Kansas City reported the largest number of

consecutive classes and the largest average attendance. Nine Associations reported that definite interviews relating to the Christian life were a regular part of their program work, though the number of men and boys joining churches was not obtainable from the records or interviews. Twenty-four, or 96 per cent, of the Associations reported observing "Rosenwald Memorial Day" in February, usually in coöperation with one or more churches.

In four of the cities the writer found decided opposition on the part of leading ministers to certain phases of the social programs now being promoted by the Associations—that is, to dancing and card playing. These ministers believe, quoting St. Paul, that "All things are lawful but all things are not expedient," and that there are certain things now being done in the Y. M. C. A.'s which tend to make Christian men of certain persuasion "chill and become unresponsive" to the appeals of the Association for financial and moral support; that no organization which bears the name of Christ can afford to be more liberal than the practices of the established church life of the community. Other ministers in the same cities felt that the Y. M. C. A. could become the "clearing house" of all inter-denominational church activities; that more effort should be put forth by secretaries and committees of management to have most of the Y. M. C. A. activities "dovetail" into the church

programs; that the Y. M. C. A.'s should build stronger community programs in order that the increased leisure time of people might be spent more profitably. There are splendid opportunities, these ministers believe, for the church and the Y. M. C. A. to join forces in the promotion of a community leisure-time program. They point to the large number of unemployed men and women, the reduction in the number of hours employed people work, the increased amount of time now being enjoyed by children, and the lack of adequate provision made by churches, the Y. M. C. A.'s, playgrounds, and settlement houses, to employ profitably the hours of idleness of such a large percentage of the population.

In cities where the committees of management include men who were responsible for Y. M. C. A. work before the advent of the modern buildings, there is found a very strong attachment for the Sunday-afternoon religious meetings and the mid-week Bible-study classes. The average attendance, however, at Sunday meetings is low, sometimes because of the poor quality of service or speaker.

The attitude of the ministers concerning various sections of the Y. M. C. A. programs can be considered as a cross section of opinion in twenty-two of the twenty-five cities visited where card playing and dancing are a part of the activities. The secretaries themselves feel that this phase of the program will not continue indefinitely, because the

"young people" now promoting the dances and games will soon cease to enjoy the "new freedom" of dancing and card playing in the Y. M. C. A. buildings. Only three of the twenty-two Associations permitting dances charged an admission fee.

B: Physical Work

In the following summary table, the result of answers to questionnaires and of personal investigation, the activities of the Associations are classified with regard to the type of physical work conducted therein.

SUMMARY TABLE

1. Gymnasium classes, calisthenics, corrective exercises, etc.
2. Aquatics.
3. Basket-ball (basket-ball leagues—house, community).
4. Hand-ball.
5. Volley-ball (volley-ball leagues—house, community).
6. Indoor baseball.
7. Boxing.
8. Physical examinations.
9. Outdoor athletic events.
10. Health-Week observance.

1. Eight, or 32 per cent of the Associations, conduct standard gymnasium classes.

2. Twenty, or 80 per cent of the Associations,

teach swimming throughout the year and promote aquatic sports of various kinds. Three, or 12 per cent of the Associations, do not use the swimming pool during the winter months. Two, or 8 per cent of the swimming pools, are out of service.

3. Twenty-five, or 100 per cent of the Associations, conduct basket-ball games. In fourteen, or 56 per cent of the Associations, "house" basket-ball leagues are promoted; and eleven, or 44 per cent of the Associations, are members of a community basket-ball league.

4. Six, or 24 per cent of the Associations, promote hand-ball on courts built for the purpose. Eight, or 33 per cent, play hand-ball on improvised courts.

5. Twenty-three, or 92 per cent of the Y. M. C. A.'s, promote volley-ball games. Nine, or 36 per cent, are members of a city-wide Y. M. C. A. volley-ball league.

6. Twenty-three, or 92 per cent of the Associations, conduct indoor baseball games, principally with boys.

7. Ten, or 40 per cent of the Associations, promote boxing and wrestling bouts and teach boxing lessons.

8. Fifteen, or 60 per cent of the physical departments, conduct annual physical examinations of all men and boys using physical privileges.

9. Six, or 24 per cent of the physical departments, promote annual outdoor athletic events.

10. Eleven, or 44 per cent of the Associations, promote the observance of National Negro Health Week, stressing sex education, the danger of the spread of venereal diseases, and the necessity for periodic physical examinations.

It will be seen that the majority of the Associations have drifted away from the traditional gymnasium program. Only two Associations reported additional classes for the standard gymnasium work during the year. All of the Associations doing physical work with women attempted calisthenics, but changed to basket-ball and other recreational games as the major part of the program in order to retain good attendance records. In the classes for boys and those for girls, Indian clubs, wand drills, and tumbling are still included in the programs working with both sexes. Corrective exercises, principally for "reducing," are conducted for individual men and women in seven of the Associations.

In considering the physical-work departments of the "Rosenwald" Associations it should be remembered that at the present time, because of staff limitations, relatively few standard programs are being conducted. Different plans are found in the different Associations as the men in charge of physical work carry on a variety of programs. New York, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Detroit, and Chicago have well-set-up physical department committees and organized leaders

groups (especially with boys). There is also a desire on the part of most of the physical directors for a standardized physical-work program. In the Associations of most of the smaller cities the physical work for men and boys is usually directed by the physical-work director or the secretary for boys' work. With only one man, and in four Associations another man working part-time to carry the burden of the entire program for both the physical and boys'-work sections, it appears remarkable in some instances that the departments are able to function as well as they do.

The trend of the physical work of the Y. M. C. A. is certainly away from standardization and toward the recreational emphasis of the program. Competitive games, according to fourteen of the executive secretaries, are using up more than three-fourths of the time of members in the gymnasium. It is interesting to note the opinions and attitudes taken by different physical directors on the change in the direction of placing emphasis in the physical-work program of the Associations. Most of the younger directors, both in age and experience, feel that "regimentation" of men and boys in drills, calisthenics, etc., lacks the opportunity for individual self-expression found in the "free" movements of individuals participating in the purely recreational games of basket-ball, volley-ball, and baseball. Most of the older physical directors, in point of years and experience both in and out of

the field of Y. M. C. A. work, feel, as do Beckett of St. Louis and Crawford of Chicago, that the physical work in the Young Men's Christian Association should be based on the philosophy of securing the balanced relation of the mind, body, and spirit; that is, a balanced relation of the intellectual, cultural, and ethical interests of life and a healthy and virile physique; bringing this to the entire membership of men and boys; exercising care that the value of coöperative play, such as basket-ball, volley-ball, baseball, and games of all types, is not unduly stressed; and at the same time developing each individual to his maximum degree of disciplined leadership, initiative, talent, character, and special ability.

Such a program would produce body-building activities, corrective and recreational, and would include factors important in the development of character and leadership.

C: Boys' Work

The boys' work program of the "Rosenwald" Associations is carried on through club organizations. Bible study, hobby classes, music, dramatics, and health education are promoted on a club basis. Gymnasium work, swimming, summer schools, and summer camps are in most instances promoted by age groups. Interviews with directors of boys' work, together with a study of records, developed the following list of activities:

1. Basket-ball
2. Bible Classes
3. Dramatics
4. Father-Son Banquets
5. Glee Clubs; Orchestras; Bands
6. GRA (grammar) "Y" Clubs
7. Health Education
8. Hi-Y Clubs
9. Hobby Clubs
10. Leaders' Clubs
11. Motion Pictures
12. Older Boys' Conferences
13. Summer Camps
14. Vocational Guidance

1. *Basket-ball.*—All of the Associations promoted "house" basket-ball games. Nine, or 36 per cent of the Associations, were members of the Y. M. C. A. or community-center basket-ball leagues.

2. *Bible Classes.*—Seven, or 28 per cent of the Associations, promoted at least one Bible-study group other than those taught as a part of the club programs.

3. *Dramatics.*—One Association promoted dramatics for boys (usually plays built up around health topics and used during National Negro Health Week programs).

4. *Father-Son Banquets.*—Sixteen, or 64 per cent of the Y. M. C. A.'s, promoted at least one Father-

Son banquet yearly. One Association (Indianapolis) promoted five during 1933.

5. *Glee Clubs, Orchestras, Bands.*—Six, or 24 per cent of the Associations, promoted group singing among the boys in one form or the other. Buffalo promoted a boys' orchestra as well as a boys' band as part of the activities.

6. *GRA (Grammar) "Y" Clubs.*—Eight, or 32 per cent of the Associations, have from one to five well-organized GRA "Y" Clubs, operating in the public schools of the twenty-five cities. These clubs are organized around interests of different groups of boys in the grammar grades. The "Christian Citizenship Training Program" forms the basis of most of the program work done with these groups. In cities where such clubs are not promoted the reason given is that no separate clubs should be organized among colored boys in schools where the races are mixed.

7. Eleven, or 44 per cent of the Associations, reported some work in health education. Most projects consisted of health meetings conducted in schools and churches under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. during the National Negro Health Week. Health exhibits and examination of individuals were carried on in four of the Associations. In Chicago, demonstrations and exhibits were conducted at the Y. M. C. A. building under the auspices of the Cook County Physicians' Association and the Y. M. C. A. Considering the short

periods of detached efforts put forth by colored organizations coöperating in National Negro Health Week, thoughtful consideration is needed by all colored agencies working in the field of Negro health to determine what can be accomplished by the Negroes themselves in the improvement of health conditions among them, and what can be done by public authorities and private agencies in order to aid Negroes in reducing the high mortality rates now prevalent among them.

8. *Hi-Y Clubs.*—Twenty-one, or 88 per cent of the Associations, reported sixty-seven different Hi-Y Clubs. The limitations of staffs in the Associations deprived many of these clubs of the services of boys' work secretaries. In most of the clubs, volunteers (usually teachers in high schools) serve as discussion leaders. Paid part-time workers (graduate or senior high-school students) are in charge of the Hi-Y groups in four of the sixteen Associations visited. But these part-time workers need considerable coaching and the clubs need more supervision by executive secretaries than is given them. According to interviews and a study of reports, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Washington, D. C., Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, and Dayton have exceptionally strong Hi-Y organizations.

9. *Hobby Clubs.*—Seven, or 28 per cent of the Associations, reported hobby clubs in their boys' departments. Among the hobbies recurring most frequently were camera, wood work, radio, and rug

weaving. The rug-weaving hobby club of the Buffalo Association has made and contributed to various officers of the Board of Education and the Y. M. C. A. staff several large and well-designed rugs, following the installation of a loom in the hobby room at the Michigan Avenue department. The space given to craft work in all but one of the Associations promoting hobby clubs should be enlarged and the rooms better located as to light and ventilation.

10. *Leaders' Clubs.*—Eight, or 32 per cent of the Associations, reported active leadership-training clubs. Five of the eight Associations reported more than three clubs each. On the whole, however, there is a great need in all of the Associations for a larger leadership-training program for boys. With the present curtailed number of full-time secretaries the staffs will not be able to conduct adequate boys' work programs. Volunteer leadership must be increased and improved as to training and guidance if the work of the boys' department is to meet successfully the increasing demand for larger institutional and community programs.

11. *Motion Pictures.*—Nine, or 36 per cent of the Associations, reported the use of motion pictures as a part of their boys' work program. Six Associations charge a small admission fee. The films shown are educational in nature, followed by a comic strip. Three of the Associations used the machines in schools and churches during Na-

tional Negro Health Week and when promoting summer camps.

12. *Older Boys' Conference.*—Ten, or 40 per cent of the Associations, reported holding Older Boys' Conferences. Twenty-two, or 88 per cent of the Associations, reported sending delegates to the Older Boys' Conferences.

13. *Summer Camps.*—Fourteen, or 56 per cent of the Associations, conducted summer camps, with campers reaching a total number of twelve hundred and seventy-seven. The number of different campers and the number of camper-days could not be ascertained from records studied. Brooklyn, Chicago, and St. Louis were the three Associations which reported camp property owned by colored departments. Buffalo reported a mixed camp of white and colored boys from the city-wide Associations. Since no study of camp activities of the "Rosenwald" Associations has been made during the time the camps are being conducted, it is suggested that such a study be made as soon as possible.

14. *Vocational Guidance.*—It is impossible to determine from the data submitted what the different Associations considered "vocational guidance" as contrasted with personal interviews on questions other than those relating to vocations. The types of interviews fell under the following general heads: employment, preparation for work, sex education, Christian living, problems arising

out of broken homes, gambling, stealing, choice of books, good sportsmanship as related to athletics, inferiority complexes, juvenile delinquency. In Pittsburgh a very fine piece of work is being carried on with boys paroled to the Center Avenue Branch by the Juvenile Court. Secretaries of that branch have worked with boys arraigned for minor as well as serious offenses against the commonwealth. Recommendations made by the Y. M. C. A. secretary have been considered and, in many cases, the writer was told, followed by the judges in passing sentences on delinquent and dependent boys.

Summary of Boys' Work

Since the colored Associations are so limited in the number of secretaries giving full- or part-time to boys' work, it would seem inadvisable to suggest that attempts to conduct a program for decentralized groups of boys be made at the present time. Yet in some Associations the time of the secretaries is almost entirely taken up acting as policemen rather than as program directors. As far as the writer could see, the activities calling for mass movements (different groups of boys working simultaneously in gymnasiums and swimming pools, in hobby clubs, Bible-study groups, Father-Son banquets, moving-picture shows) are the activities which move along smoothly and with the least supervision. Basket-ball games, lobby games, and other "noisy" activities break much beyond the

bounds of decent behavior because of the fact that the one secretary who should be on general duty is on duty with some particular group. Volunteer leadership, usually untrained, seems unable to cope with the roughness and sometimes rowdyism occurring in the boys' lobbies, particularly where the attendance consists of under-privileged boys, many of whom are from homes which contribute nothing to their good behavior. It seems tragic that the Y. M. C. A. program should be reduced so drastically at the present time, because of the opportunities to build around these boys an atmosphere of order and wholesome living which should, in a measure, counteract the bad influences surrounding them in their home situations. Such an atmosphere cannot be built with the lack of supervision now prevalent in some of the Associations, nor can the boys' work program in the majority of these Associations at the present time become rich and varied in content matter without larger budget appropriations for additional, and in some cases, better-trained boys' work secretaries.

D: Educational Work

Educational work, in terms of classes in public speaking, commerce, English, French, salesmanship, or accounting, is not conducted in a formal way in any of the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A.'s with the exception of the New York Association. In all but four of the other cities colored students are

admitted to the schools conducted by the white Associations. It is the consensus of the committees of management and executive secretaries that it is better to have men from the colored Associations attend the schools conducted by the white Associations than for the colored departments to conduct what, because of lack of resources, would necessarily be an inferior type of training institution. If educational work can be thought of in terms of forums, discussion groups, and appreciation classes in music and the fine arts, studies conducted under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. to discover the educational needs of its members as well as the needs of the community in general show that the colored Associations are keenly aware of the needs for such programs and are wherever possible endeavoring to meet those needs. Indianapolis, Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Washington, and St. Louis have been conducting for some years adult educational programs of the type described.

During the past year the opportunities for adult education offered by the Federal Emergency Relief Agencies have been embraced by thousands of colored men and women throughout the country. Most of the students enrolled are in the language classes, especially English, French, and Spanish. The next-largest enrollment has been in the commercial group of studies: stenography, typewriting, and commercial law. Classes in music, paint-

ing, clay modeling, tap dancing, sewing, cooking, arithmetic, and spelling have attracted most of the women students. The largest enrollment of men was found in the public speaking, commercial, language, and accounting classes; men in lesser numbers were enrolled in the auto-mechanics, woodwork, and electrical wiring classes. Because of the superior class-room facilities and better opportunities for supervision of both teachers and subject matter, the Y. M. C. A.'s in the cities visited were housing the majority of the adult education classes financed by the Federal Emergency Relief Agency. The Associations engaged in promoting the adult education programs would render a large service to the people if permanent plans could be made to continue many of the present classes, and to begin others helpful to the occupational groups now being served. This is a service which the colored Y. M. C. A.'s are peculiarly fitted to render and one which would be of inestimable value in the development of a sense of progress in the minds of the people.

E: Dormitories

The executive secretaries of 92 per cent of the "Rosenwald" Associations feel that the dormitories of these Associations have been a liability rather than an asset during the past two years. Against this possible recent liability can be placed the years when the dormitory-occupancy rate was

high, the income totalling in most instances about one-third of the gross income from all sources and producing a substantial surplus to help finance the program of activities. Between 1910 and 1920 the dormitory rooms in the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A.'s were practically the only places where Negro educators, business and professional men, and others could find comfortable and safe sleeping accommodations outside the homes of relatives or friends. The service the dormitory sections of the Associations have rendered young men, especially the newcomers to city life, has been invaluable to them as they made their adjustment in a highly competitive and industrialized society. Much of the leadership in the Sunday-afternoon religious meetings and in social activities of the Associations has been recruited from the dormitory membership. With the present low occupancy and the unattractive appearance of most of the rooms in these dormitories, the Associations should realize that certain standards of furnishings and decorations, with an equally high standard of housekeeping, must be maintained if the Associations would continue to furnish a Christian home for men needing it most.

F: Work Among Women and Girls

The work for women and girls in the Associations visited can be said to be in the experimental stage only. Before any further enrolment of

women and girl members takes place, serious effort should be exerted to determine the following:

1. Is there a need for the Young Men's Christian Association to enter the field of work for women?
2. Can the Y. M. C. A. offer an adequate program for women?
3. What are the necessary factors involved in the successful promotion of a program for women?

In ten, or 40 per cent of the cities, the "Rosenwald" buildings offer the only adequate gymnasium facilities for either men or women of the colored group. In fifteen, or 60 per cent of the cities, the Associations maintain the only swimming pools open to colored people. For both types of activities it seems that the Y. M. C. A. should serve both men and women with a trained physical leadership drawn from both sexes. If further work among women is found desirable, it should go forward under the direction of adequately-trained female leadership and a women's committee.

G: The Y. M. C. A. as a Community Leaven

No account, whether statistical or interpretative, could indicate completely the rôle of the Y. M. C. A. on the "Negro frontier" which did not take cognizance of its place as a general focus for many activities outside the conventional scope of the

Association. This service, relatively, has been far greater in the Negro than in the white community. The secretarial staffs of the Negro Associations have furnished a leadership for the community which has become accepted in many instances as a matter of course. Frequently these activities defy classification, and to some degree the contribution made has been intangible, but it is, nevertheless, very real.

As an example of these subtle ramifications of the institution into the life of the Negro community, the sponsorship of coöperative business enterprises among Negroes is of great importance. Before 1910, leadership in Negro business was disassociated and individualistic to the point that few Negro business men knew, or cared to know, what was going on beyond their immediate bailiwick. Booker T. Washington realized the great need for coöperation by organizing the National Negro Business League. This organization served an important function, but local coöperation did not result from the activities of this body, which infrequently reached more than one or two individuals in the same community.

During the campaigns to erect modern Y. M. C. A. buildings in cities throughout the country, a large number of leading Negro business and professional men came together and worked for the first time in an organized way and on a large financial project.

These campaigns were followed in several cities by the organization or reorganization of Negro businesses on a much larger scale than had been attempted previously. The men who had been leaders in the various Y. M. C. A. campaigns were found to be at the head of newly-organized business concerns. This was especially true in Atlanta, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Columbus, New York, and St. Louis. As these Negro businesses developed into attractive-looking stores, office buildings, undertaking establishments, and amusement places, and the owners became known generally through their business and Y. M. C. A. connections, support of these businesses by Negroes increased.

Before the Y. M. C. A. campaigns were inaugurated, a great many white people, wealthy and influential, felt that Negroes would not be able, and many of them not willing, to assume a large share in the support of institutions such as the Y. M. C. A. During the time the campaigns were being planned, wealthy white men and outstanding Negro citizens came to know one another with mutual respect for individual accomplishments. Also, the amount of contributions pledged and paid by many of the colored people in these campaigns lifted them to a considerable degree in the estimation of the white people, who had doubted both their willingness and their ability to give.

Within the last century there has developed in

the white group a considerable number of "wealth-giving" as well as "wealth-getting" activities. Not until after the advent of the Y. M. C. A. did Negroes begin to share in an organized way in the "wealth-giving" activities of the white group. As a result of this original sharing in the erection and support of Y. M. C. A. buildings, there has come to the Negro a sense of a larger responsibility for other agencies working directly for and with colored people. At the present time Negroes in all cities conducting community-chest drives share with white people the responsibility of contributing toward those agencies which are supported by the chests. In addition to contributions through these agencies, thousands of dollars are given by Negroes to enterprises conducted by Negroes which do not receive support from community chests.

In view of these facts, there can be no question but that the Negro Y. M. C. A. has had an important part in stimulating leadership in the economic life of the group, as well as in providing them with a technique in the organization and promotion of business affairs.

CHAPTER V

THE INSTITUTION FROM WITHIN

All of the "Rosenwald" Associations operate under the "Metropolitan Plan" of organization, whereby the city branches are related to each other through a centralized control and supervision by a general secretary and a board of managers. The administration of the colored branches, so far as could be learned from the general secretaries, has been carried on efficiently, especially in view of the greatly reduced budgets. The nature of these financial sacrifices may be judged from the fact that the writer learned that in most instances deficits in the last two years have occurred after secretaries' salaries and operating expenses have been reduced to a point below which the Association could not go, and remain open. In four of the cities the Associations showed a balanced budget for 1933, made possible through good management and comfortable net receipts from cafeterias and dormitories. Large contributions from community chests made balanced budgets possible in two other cities. Practically all of the general secretaries stated that, under normal conditions, their colored executives and assistants could administer the affairs of the branches efficiently. In three cases, however, it was thought by general secre-

taries that budget control was not quite so strong in their colored branches as it should be in order to avoid recurring deficits.

A: Membership of Rosenwald Associations

The total number of men and boys in the twenty-five "Rosenwald" Associations in 1933 was 19,296. Of this number, 10,391 were men and 8,905 were boys. In 1928, the year before the depression, there were 13,277 members in the colored Associations. The increase in the total membership in these Associations between 1928 and 1933 has been due to an increase in the boys' membership of 5,792 and an increase in the men's section of 227. The increase in the number of boys joining the Y. M. C. A. has been due to a reduction in membership rates and also to the fact that 42 per cent of the boys' membership fees in 1933 were subsidized by contributions given for that purpose. A reduction in the membership fees for men and intensive campaigns for members by twelve of the Associations not only kept the total number of members served in 1928 but increased that number by 227. The reduction of rates has also served to remove one of the criticisms often made of the Associations by a considerable number of people, namely, that the amount charged by these Associations restricted the use of the buildings to the upper-middle class, which could afford to pay for these services, and denied Association privileges

to those who were in most need of the service. The membership fees of these Y. M. C. A.'s have been reduced in a proportion far more decisive than characteristic even of the current economic crisis in other fields.

There were also enrolled in the Y. M. C. A. as paid members in 1933, 401 women and 380 girls. This female membership was distributed in only five of the twenty-five Associations, Chicago having the largest number with 113 women members and 96 girls. Buffalo, Harrisburg, Evanston, and Philadelphia were other cities in which female membership was noted.

An analysis of the age groups within the men's membership indicates that 52 per cent of these men were above the age of twenty-five in 1933 as compared with 46 per cent for the same group in 1928. Atlanta, Georgia, has the largest percentage of memberships between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, with, however, only 31 per cent of the entire members falling there. Since the group between eighteen and twenty-five years of age has always formed the minority group in the colored Associations, an adequate program that will interest this age group should be worked out as soon as possible.

B: How "Rosenwald" Associations Are Financed

The original cost (totalling $5,815,969) of the

twenty-five Associations was shared in the following proportion: by Julius Rosenwald and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 19.9 per cent; by the local Negro population, 8.3 per cent; and the balance by funds from other sources. The original investment varies from the $100,262 building located in Denver to the magnificent new building of the 135th Street Branch Y. M. C. A. of New York, which was erected at a cost of $1,036,297. The contribution of the local Negro population to the total cost varied from approximately 35 per cent of the money required for the first "Rosenwald" Association building in Washington, dedicated in 1912, to as little as 1.4 per cent of the cost of the New York building, erected in 1933. It should not be thought, however, that this indicates a decrease in the response of the Negro population toward the initial campaigns. The Dallas building, dedicated in 1930, listed Negro contributions amounting to $49,761, or 27.1 per cent of the total.

Only eight of the Associations have a property debt, ranging from $1,000 for the Orange, New Jersey, building to $37,000 for the Denver building. In six other cases, however, prior property debts have been assumed by the general Association.

The data exhibited in Tables 1-9 in the Appendix reveal certain statistical relationships which may be indicative of social policies and trends regarding initial and operating costs.

In the southern metropolitan areas—Atlanta, Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis, and Kansas City —Negroes contributed a higher proportion of the cost of land, buildings, and equipment than in the northern cities with their recent influx of Negro population. (The original cost figures for the early Y. M. C. A. buildings applied to a Negro population somewhat smaller than at present.) However, there has been less growth of Negro population in southern cities (where Y. M. C. A.'s were first started) than in the North, where they have recently been established.

In some northern cities, especially those with 15,000 or fewer Negroes, the capital investment in Y. M. C. A. plants was more than $25 per member of the Negro population. The average figure is much lower in the larger cities with a larger Negro population. The explanation lies, of course, in the fact that the minimum capital necessary to establish a satisfactory Y. M. C. A. building is approximately $150,000, and this is not greatly increased when the building is expanded to serve a larger number of members.

The first "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A. buildings, most of them in the South, were financed to a greater proportion by Negro subscriptions than the more recent ones in northern cities. This may be regarded as a result of two conflicting forces: the southern Negro population, finding itself without the interest or assistance of well-to-do whites, as-

sumed more initiative in establishing Y. M. C. A. activities. In the North many in the Negro population naturally turned to the general Y. M. C. A. facilities available to the entire public and showed less interest in constructing other facilities for character building. If the Y. M. C. A. buildings in the North had waited for the support of the Negro population for their construction, they probably would not have been erected before 1925.

The operating costs of Negro Y. M. C. A.'s are higher per member of the Negro population in the northern cities than in the South. The expenses were less than $0.25 per capita per year in most southern cities, especially in those with a large Negro population. Apparently St. Louis is the exception, with an expenditure of $0.54 per Negro citizen. In the northern cities, particularly those with a smaller Negro population, the total current operating costs exceed one dollar per capita, with costs in excess of two dollars in the residential suburbs of Evanston, Illinois, and Orange, New Jersey.

The cities with the highest total operating costs are not necessarily those which incur the largest current deficits. As a matter of fact, the newer Y. M. C. A.'s appear to require less support from voluntary contributions. At least, this was the case in 1933.

The Negro population has contributed a substantial share to make up the annual operating

deficits of the Y. M. C. A.'s which serve them. More money has been received, however, from the general population than from Negroes. The apparent exceptions to the situation exist in Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and Toledo. In normal times the Y. M. C. A. activities are nearly self-liquidating through membership fees and revenue-producing activities. The voluntary contributions received from the general public, from the Negro population, or from the white Association are a small proportion of the total receipts from year to year.

C: Secretarial Staff

The number of full-time secretaries employed in the twenty-five Y. M. C. A.'s visited dropped from ninety-four in 1928 to seventy-three in 1933. This indicates a decrease of 22 per cent. There were thirty-eight part-time secretaries employed in 1928 as contrasted with thirty in 1933—a drop of 21 per cent. These decreases would not be so serious if the staff of secretaries in colored Associations in 1928 had been sufficient in number to carry on the programs adequately at that time. In most instances the colored Y. M. C. A.'s were understaffed in 1928; with a reduction of 43 per cent in the total number employed at that time, the present situation is deplorable. The results are unbalanced programs of activities and a serious lack of

supervision, especially in the boys' sections of the Associations.

D: Training

Aside from the limited number of secretaries now manning the "Rosenwald" Associations, which is far too low for the activities needed to promote the work efficiently, the problem of supplying trained executives in administrative, physical, and boys' work, has become more serious as the Association increased in numbers. Only ten of the Associations now have secretaries who have been trained in the Y. M. C. A. colleges; six more have secretaries with college degrees and Y. M. C. A. college training; and nine employ men who are high-school graduates, with additional training in Y. M. C. A. summer schools. Eight of the branch secretaries, below the status of the executive secretary, have told the writer that they do not consider the Association work interesting enough to hold them over a long period of time. They state that the pay is small, the hours are long, and the results obtained in working with limited numbers are not so satisfying as those obtained in the public-school systems, playground work, or the social agencies. These men are just "holding on," the writer believes, until something better turns up. This unfortunate situation has reduced the effectiveness of the work of the Y. M. C. A. in several cities. Where to put the blame is difficult to say. On the one

hand, the Association cannot hope to compete with the municipality or even with the social agencies in the matter of adequate salaries in order to secure or retain competently-trained men. On the other hand, it is believed that many young secretaries in the Association could be persuaded to remain in the work if the committees of management and the executive secretaries sought to enlarge the view of the Association to younger secretaries, especially the new ones.

According to Hardy,* 236 men entered and 165 left the Association work between 1918 and 1927—a discontinuance rate of 69.9 per cent. The age of the largest number of men entering the work fell between twenty-five and twenty-nine years; that of the largest number leaving fell between twenty-five and forty years. "So long as the Association continues to employ men from twenty to twenty-four years of age, the annual turnover will continue considerably higher than it would be if the minimum training and maturity were increased." The responsibility of recruiting for the Y. M. C. A. secretaryship should be shared to a larger extent by the colored men's department of the National Council and the Associations in the local fields. According to several competent observers, this recruiting should begin in the Hi-Y groups, the

* Hardy, Arthur W., "A Study of the Organization and Operation of Rosenwald Y. M. C. A.'s for the Period 1917-1927," an unpublished Master's thesis.

idea nurtured in the mind of the student through high school and college, and a weeding-out process carried on before the time for specialization arrives. Other equally competent observers believe that a selection should be made from among the men in the senior year of college and opportunities afforded through scholarship grants for graduate work in the field of the Y. M. C. A. Either one or both of these courses might succeed if carried on over a period of years. The important task, however, is to set into motion some plan of recruiting which in the future will bring a larger number of trained secretaries into the work of the Young Men's Christian Association.

E: Dormitories and Cafeterias

The adjunct services of the Y. M. C. A. have suffered heavily, as indicated above, during the last five years. The percentage of dormitory occupancy has been reduced tremendously within the period, in the city of Atlanta, for example, falling from 95 to 25 per cent. Although not all of the other buildings have shown such a violent decrease —Washington, St. Louis, and New York notably showing less than a 20 per cent fall—the only building to show an increase in occupancy in the period was Toledo, and here there was registered the moderate gain of from 28 to 40 per cent. These losses have taken place in spite of a decrease in room rentals, and the improvement of many of the build-

ings. Other buildings have lacked improvement for a long period of years, and the result has been successive deterioration in the physical condition of the plant and in the attractiveness of the surroundings.

Of the thirteen buildings maintaining cafeterias in 1928, five showed a net loss from this activity ranging from $65 to $2,512. Cafeterias were maintained by sixteen buildings in 1933, four of which showed losses ranging from $233 to $808. It is interesting to note that four of the five cafeterias showing a loss in 1928 were able to transfer this deficit to a net gain in 1933, while three of the four cafeterias showing a loss in 1933 were on the credit side of the ledger in 1928. These changing figures represent the vicissitudes of the economic depression and its effect upon the institutions concerned; but they also reflect in some cases interesting details of improved management and better service to the patrons.

F: Relations With the General Agencies

The majority of the colored Associations do not, at the present time, contribute to the training service agencies directly. Some contribute through the general Associations in their particular cities; others through their state organizations; and a few who use the specialists in the colored men's department of the National Council contribute

directly to the budget of that department. It is evident, however, from a study of the amounts contributed by colored Associations to the budgets of the National Council over a period of ten years, that these Associations have not as yet reached a point where they are carrying an equitable share of the financial support of the National Council's work with colored men and boys both in this country and in Africa. If it is possible for the Colored Associations to share and participate to a greater degree in the work of the National Council, there should develop a larger service to colored men.

It is the consensus among the executive secretaries of the "Rosenwald" Associations that the National Council has rendered valuable services to local Associations. This is particularly true, they say, with reference to the direction of financial and membership campaigns by the specialists from the colored men's department of the National Council. They state further that the visits from the senior secretary from time to time quickened the spirits of committees of management, and the studies made by the specialists in boys' work have been used as a basis in the reorganization of programs. Four secretaries, however, thought that the membership in their local Associations did not know enough about the general agencies to become interested in their support. (They attributed this ignorance to the fact that the National Council

staff members did not visit them often enough for counsel and inspiration.)

An analysis of the points of view of the different secretaries with reference to the value of the agencies in general, and the colored men's department of the National Council in particular, leads the writer to believe: first, that the colored Associations feel the need of the services of the colored men's department; second, that the services given at the present time are in no way adequate to the need for it; third, that studies should be made as soon as possible to determine the kinds of additional service the agency should render to Associations, with some plan of financing this larger service in the different cities.

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH—CAN INSTITUTIONS CHANGE?

A

In our introductory chapter reference was made to the fact that the Negro urban population lived on a perpetual frontier. But no frontier is ever wholly stable; and, as a matter of fact, many of the difficulties incident to settlement arise from the violent fluctuations which may be expected there in the relations of man to man, or class to class, or between man and his enemy, Nature.

So the Negro frontier has possessed a high degree of instability where social adjustment was concerned. The recent migration of Negroes from the South, with its aftermath, mirrors the social processes involved in all of the past history of the race as nothing else could. The migrants found a population in the process of adjustment, but still on the edge of the frontier. They went through the characteristic crises of first settlement and location. Some order was about to develop out of the chaos when the economic system suffered what amounted to a collapse. The hard-won goals achieved in the brief period given for settlement were almost entirely sacrificed. Security was torn from under the feet of the few families which had

won it through industry and thrift. Disorganization followed, and broke the few patterns already woven of a firm fabric of community coöperation. These tokens indicate that, paradoxical as it may seem, the frontier is permanent even in its perennial crises. The frame of social conflict remains, but new forms of that conflict arise. Surely "the old order changeth"—and the old order known to individuals of the Negro race, and to the institutions which it has but just brought forth, is finding the truth of the statement more than poetic in these latter days.

B

The rate of increase in the professional class of Negroes between 1920-1930 was 69 per cent as contrasted with an increase of 31 per cent between 1910-1920. Physicians, lawyers, dentists, and ministers living in the South followed their patients, clients, and church members in their trek to northern cities. In the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, and Michigan are found 1,861,000 Negroes—15 per cent of the total Negro population of the United States. Yet, according to Ira DeA. Reid, these States have 30 per cent of all the physicians, 39 per cent of all the dentists, and 49 per cent of all the lawyers in the United States. The number of Negro ministers in these States, although in no way comparable to the number of Negro ministers to the total Negro

population, increased rapidly between 1920-1930, resulting in the establishment of new churches of various sects and denominations.

Thousands of these additional Negro churches, many of which held their services in rented stores, sprang up mushroom-like between 1916 and 1926 (the periods of the first and second migrations), when the industries of the North drew more than 500,000 Negroes out of the South to work in mines, mills, transportation, and packing plants. The Negro churches became an important factor in the social and economic life of the migrants and continued their influence with the thousands of Negro folk attending them. Welfare agencies were established in many of the churches and included offices among their other activities.

Night-school classes in which men and women were taught to read and write were established in the Y. M. C. A.'s; also classes in auto mechanics, plumbing, steam-fitting, and butchering. Under the direction of boards of education, thousands of students enrolled in night classes to learn millinery, tailoring, printing, English, French, mathematics, and other high-school subjects.

Negro business organizations were somewhat slower in establishing contacts with the newcomers. Negro banks, insurance companies, and retail and wholesale merchandising organizations did not appear until 1921, the beginning of the second migration. Small shopkeepers formed the largest

number of Negro business men who followed the exodus. Monroe Work estimates that, by 1929, 25,000 of them averaged annual net sales of $3,935 each. Total sales of commodities of these merchants amounted to $101,146,045, and 12,561 Negroes were given full-time employment. The drug business, which is undoubtedly the most successful business enterprise owned by Negroes, increased more than 400 per cent during 1916-1929, and gave employment to more than 4,560 registered pharmacists, clerks, and other help.

The banking business among Negroes since 1912 has had considerable and varied experiences. The number of Negro banks decreased from 72 in 1918 to 51 in 1931. In that year these 51 banks were doing an annual business of $76,000,000. According to Ira DeA. Reid, reports are available which show that 11 of the 19 larger Negro banks were open without restrictions following the national bank moratorium in March, 1933; 3 of the remainder closed temporarily; 3 were in the hands of the receiver; and 2 were operating under conservators.

Negro life insurance companies multiplied rapidly in northern cities between 1916-1928. By 1920 life insurance policies totalling $61,000,000 had been written by these companies. In 1930 the amount had increased to $260,174,467, of which $169,976,107 was industrial and $90,198,360 was ordinary life insurance. The total assets of these

companies were $18,445,798. Since 1930 there has been a rapid decline in the amount of insurance in force in the forty life insurance companies owned by Negroes, due largely to the effect of the depression upon the economic status of the race. The financial losses sustained by Negro life insurance companies are indicative of the losses suffered by Negroes in all lines of business and professional life. One company expresses it as follows:

> The loss of employment, and the consequent reduction in income of the laboring class of our people, has reflected itself almost immediately in the reduced income of the professional class. This is particularly true of our physicians and surgeons, who formerly made money in large amounts and who are now in some instances almost destitute. This professional class included doctors, particularly those who have been patrons of life insurance companies for the larger policies. With their own incomes reduced they first began to ask for premium extension, then there came the premium notes, and later on requests for the full loan value of their policies, with which to meet living expenses and obligations. Finally there came the actual surrender of these policies for cash or for whatever equity was left after the loans had been made; or the policy simply expired because no more premiums were paid on them and the full loan value had been taken, eating up every dollar of equity which the insured had in the policy.

The majority of the Negroes who came to the North during the years of migrations, and who contributed so largely to the success of the Negro

business and professional men, were lured from the southern states by their desire for increased wages, better educational facilities for their children, and better political and social opportunities. When they arrived, they found themselves forced to live in sections of these cities where good housing was lamentably inadequate. Because of their insecure economic status, these tenants were unable to seek better quarters. In many of the cities these sections were adjacent to centrally-located commercial and manufacturing districts. Through them had swept various nationalities, each leaving the houses or apartment buildings in much worse condition than they found them. Because owners of property hoped for an expansion of the business district which would absorb their property, few repairs and no improvements were made. Squalid, unsanitary conditions prevailed generally. Professional men and women, social workers, ministers, and day laborers, were compelled to work and sometimes live next to prostitutes, gambling houses, panderers, the vicious, the shiftless, and the ne'er-do-wells of the race. Under the indifference of municipal authorities, vice, crime, disease, and death blocked the way of institutions or individuals working to improve the health and moral status of the Negro. All of these cities have their Beal or Decatur Streets, their Rampart or State Streets; their Columbus Hills, Wiley Avenues, or Salem Streets, where the backwash of Negro life

meet, play awhile, and then "pass on" because of murder or disease.

All of these cities have their "good" neighborhoods, where families of moderate income rent or own substantial homes and where life flows on as it does in any well-ordered community. In such communities the crime and death rates are on the level of the city as a whole. Indeed, the rates of adult and child delinquency may be even lower than that of the average for the city.

Near and sometimes within the better residence districts the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A. buildings have been erected. In some cities studies were made to determine the direction in which the population was moving, and the buildings erected in advance of the general trend; but the unexpectedly rapid and wide-spread increases in Negro population in cities since 1920 have left several of the larger Y. M. C. A. buildings well within or very near blighted areas.

The first group to leave these blighted areas were the families who had been residents of these cities for many years, and who had obtained a certain amount of security and considerable educational background. Business men, ministers, and other professional men, who came with or shortly followed the unskilled labor group to the North, soon joined the "old residents" in their trek to neighborhoods where housing conditions were better and where schools for the children were not over-

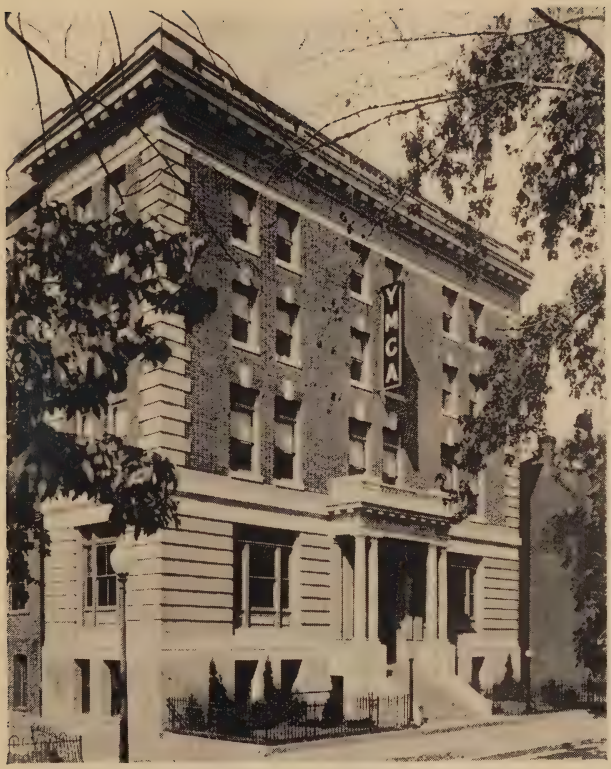
crowded. Negro business and church congregations in many places were moved from the old areas to these new localities. In certain cities, e. g., Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Atlanta, and Detroit, however, most of the churches and "lodge" buildings remain in the downtown districts and draw their support from members living in many instances some miles away. This is particularly true with the churches and secret societies, which from time immemorial have held the loyalty and support of the Negro race.

Such is not the case, however, with the Y. M. C. A.'s left in these districts. As the more financially able families have moved away, their dwellings have been taken over by thousands of newcomers without much knowledge of city life and without money. This change in the economic levels of the population surrounding these Y. M. C. A. buildings necessarily influenced the revenues and the character of programs offered by the Y. M. C. A.'s because, from the beginning, colored as well as white Y. M. C. A.'s have drawn their support from the business, professional, and clerical classes rather than from the industrial or the day-laborer groups. A clear demonstration of this change can be seen in programs carried on in Y. M. C. A. buildings in industrial centers—Chicago, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, St. Louis—where Negro mobility has been greatest as compared with cities where industry is not entrenched, such as Washington,

Baltimore, New York City, Dayton, and Harrisburg. In the industrial centers most of the programs are principally recreational and social with but small emphasis on the religious, educational, or community-extension work. In most of the non-industrial centers, the colored Y. M. C. A. programs have followed in the main the general pattern of white Y. M. C. A.'s in the physical, educational, religious, and community-work programs. This has been possible because, in the cities without large industries, such factors as mobility of population and extremely low economic levels have not been so constant as in industrial centers where wide-spread expansion has been going on. The lack of mobility in the non-industrial cities on the part of this group, due to ownership of property and sometimes to the slowness of the white population in moving from adjacent territory, has kept within the membership of these Y. M. C. A.'s the professional and business classes of Negro life. From these classes the Y. M. C. A. boy-members have been recruited; both are groups more nearly able, or at least more willing, to take active part in standardized Y. M. C. A. programs than are the men and boys who work in factories and mills.

C

From the descriptions of the locations of the Y. M. C. A. buildings with reference to the geo-



Twelfth Street Branch
Washington, D. C.

West Federal Street Branch
Youngstown, Ohio

graphical distribution of Negroes in these twenty-five cities, it appears that seven, or 28 per cent, of the buildings are now located in or on the boundary line of areas in which the poorest people live; four, or 16 per cent of them, are located in areas which are rapidly changing from residential to industrial or commercial zones; and fourteen, or 56 per cent, are located in areas of good homes. It will be seen that the difference in the economic and cultural level of the different groups using these buildings has necessitated a shift from the standardized Y. M. C. A. program still being conducted in some of the buildings serving the better income group to one which is largely made up of social and recreational activities in the buildings serving groups living in the blighted areas.

The rapid increase in the mobility of the Negro population in most of the northern cities should be made the basis for serious study relative to the location of future colored Y. M. C. A. buildings. The encroachment of white business districts on Negro communities, with a subsequent moving of Negro families into neighborhoods in which white families live, and the quick deterioration in property left vacant by the exodus or overcrowded by families whose income is very low, changes in a relatively short time a community of good homes into a blighted or slum area.

If a Y. M. C. A. building finds itself in the center of such an area, it will either have to be abandoned

for a site nearer the center of the Negro population, or it will be forced to carry on a large program for the under-privileged boys and girls who live in the blighted areas. If the latter course is adopted, financial assistance from outside the district will be necessary. The income from membership dues, dormitory rents, and cafeteria profits cannot be depended upon, as formerly, to finance the program, because no financial support can be expected from the people directly served, and former members will not contribute enough to cover the deficit.

Another question which should be studied in all of the present Associations is the extension of the work to communities not now touched by the Association program. This will not involve a sacrifice in its present membership, nor a curtailing of privileges to members. It will involve a study of the needs of Negro men and boys of the entire city and of programs to be promoted in schools, churches, or rented quarters to cover those needs. Such a study will seek to find ways of coöperating with other community agencies in promoting a better community life. It will seek to make of its secretarial staff an alert and competent group of workers and of the Association building a community center to which the various groups may come for inter-community activities. If financial support of such a program can be secured, the geographical location of Negro Y. M. C. A. build-

ings will not be of so much importance as it is at the present time.

Foreign-Born Population

The decline of the foreign-born white population in most of the cities in which an increase in the Negro population is noted is a part of the general decline in the foreign-born white population in many parts of the country. According to the United States Bureau of Census, there has been only a very slight increase between 1920-1930 in the foreign-born population for the country as a whole. The increase in certain cities where the foreign-born have settled has been more than offset by the decrease in other cities.

The increase in the Negro and Mexican population since 1920 in cities east of the Mississippi River and north of the Mason and Dixon Line was due to the need of unskilled labor in all of the industrial centers of that section. This need became much greater as the number of foreign-born laborers decreased through the restriction placed on European immigration.

Between 1920 and 1930 the flow of Mexican unskilled labor was entirely seasonal in the States west of the Mississippi, and was controlled to a large degree by the need of labor in the sugar-beet fields of Colorado, in the grape and orange orchards in California, and in the cotton fields (primarily) in Texas. "The leading sugar-beet growing area in

the United States is in the Valley of the South Platte River in northeastern Colorado. To this region, as to others in the Middle West from Montana to Michigan, Mexican families have been transported each spring at the time of thinning sugar-beet plants. In the fall after the harvest, they return to their homes, remain in the towns or on the farms, or go to northern cities."*

D

From a study of the physical condition of the Association buildings it can be seen that 92 per cent of them need major repairs and 96 per cent of them need painting and decorating. As soon as possible financial campaigns should be conducted for rehabilitation purposes.

From an architectural point of view the entire twenty-five Associations can be divided into two groups: those erected before 1925 and those built since that year. In the first group the architectural designs were not so pleasing as those followed in erecting the buildings of the second. According to present-day standards, the materials and construction used in some of the earlier Associations were of such poor quality that the buildings soon looked shabby and worn, and the upkeep was much higher than it should have been. In some of the buildings of the earlier group also the amount of money appropriated for furnishings was inadequate, par-

* Taylor, Paul S., *Mexican Labor in the United States,* p. 65.

ticularly in the spaces used for social purposes, so that with constant usage, and sometimes abuse, the furnishings and equipment depreciated rapidly. In two of the buildings of the first group, where good material was used in construction and where adequate and substantial furnishings were purchased, the wear and tear of the years have not changed the appearance of the buildings unduly. Another problem found in the buildings erected prior to 1925 was noted in difficulty of supervision of the different activity sections. This is especially true with reference to the boys' department. Before 1918, in the colored Association buildings the boys' sections were either in the basement or on the second floor. Since 1913, among the white Associations and later with the colored Associations, according to R. L. Rayburn of the Building Bureau of the National Council, "The importance of boys' work and the opportunity for more completely accomplishing the Association task by working with boys during the more formative years came to the front as never before, and it was felt that the boys should have a place in the building which was equal in so far as ease of accessibility was concerned with that of the men." By planning the boys' sections on the first floor of the new buildings the architects have been able to provide for centralized supervision, especially of the boys' and men's social space. The removal of the boys' section to the first floor of the new buildings decreases the

amount of space for other purposes. However, and in view of the present inadequate social spaces brought about by placing the boys' department on the first floor of so many buildings, it would be well in planning future buildings to study the needs of small groups. As an example of this condition, only two of the present buildings have enough club rooms to care adequately for the increase in the number of club groups now applying for space. In cities where the Y. M. C. A. serves also as the only community center the lobbies of the buildings are crowded nightly with different groups awaiting their turn to use club rooms already occupied by other groups. This makes for confusion in supervision and gives the casual visitor the idea that the program of activities is not well coördinated.

E

"Ancient" standards of measuring the educational values of programs in the Young Men's Christian Association have been modernized and continue to change in the light of the new needs of men and boys. Some of these changes are temporary and others are far reaching in advancing the progress of the Associations' work. The assistance rendered by the Associations to the unemployed in the matter of free beds, free meals, use of gymnasium, deferred payments on membership fees, space, light, and heat for the conduct of the

C. W. A. schools, although temporary, constitutes a service during the time of financial adjustment of the people. The increasing number of women and girls now enrolled in integral parts of many Associations, and programs developed to serve the variety of needs of this particular group, together with the increased social, recreational, and educational needs of men and boys, indicate permanent program changes in club work, religious education, types of lectures, and discussion groups which will give a better understanding of the economic and social questions confronting young people of today. If the flexibility of the Y. M. C. A. program will permit the changes to meet the rapid shift from individual to group education which now prevail in all social work, the service planning of the Y. M. C. A. will succeed. Such planning will not necessarily look upon the individual only as an aspect of society, nor will it overlook the many opportunities for counseling by secretaries with the individual members; but future activities will be thought of in terms of the general social welfare of the group. It is the belief of the writer that no social planning program of the future will succeed unless it is aimed in that direction.

The guidance program of the Associations, especially with boys, should be strengthened and directed to achieve and maintain the physical and mental health of the group. Such a program will call for continuous and sympathetic attention to

the problems of adolescence, when boys are becoming more self-conscious and seek to attain the status of adults. Personality studies have shown that all boys are in need of guidance, particularly during the adolescent period. Failure to make adjustments in the early school grades and in home life has carried over into the adolescent and adult lives of thousands of boys, with disastrous results. With this type of boy the progress of the Y. M. C. A. will depend upon how soon it can help to develop wholesome social relations in the home, desirable recreational activities, effective adjustments in school life, and a desire on the part of the boy to prepare himself for some useful vocation. In order to do this, the Y. M. C. A. will need to know what kind of information is necessary to make and maintain these adjustments and what occupations are likely to be available at the time the vocational training is finished.

During the last ten years the tendency in Y. M. C. A. programs has been to place a greater emphasis on character building than on religious education. Before that time there was a continuous increase in the number of students of the Bible in classes, but since then a gradual decrease has been shown. Sunday-afternoon gospel meetings began to decline in attendance about the same time. On the other hand, the number of institutes of religious education conducted under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. and other socio-religious organizations began

to increase. The churches and the Y. M. C. A. have shown splendid results in bringing to young men (usually through the Older Boys' Conferences) opportunities to face questions as to their stand on religious, sex, social, and economic questions. To many of these young men, the Church and the Y. M. C. A. have heretofore expressed their messages around a restful, satisfying service, and exaggerated the importance of attendance at church and Bible classes. If the Church and the Y. M. C. A. will permit youth to help them plan programs and build them around religious, social, economic, and educational activities, the large body of young men not now found in either church or Y. M. C. A. will again become interested. In order to do this the Y. M. C. A. and the Church will have to train better leadership for this particular group of young men, whose ages range between eighteen and twenty-five years. They are not now in the churches or in the Y. M. C. A. Yet it is demonstrated here and there that youth will listen to and follow a leadership which can inspire as well as instruct them in the ways of making Christianity attractive. This age group especially is now sorely perplexed with its own problems as well as those thrust upon it by an economic and social order which is for the present awry. The large increase in the number of boys found on highways "hitch-hiking" from one end of the country to the other is painful evidence of a breakdown in the

social order in so far as it has to do with boy-life. Whether the Y. M. C. A., the Church, or other organizations can meet adequately the change taking place in the youth of today must necessarily remain unanswered for the present time. However, judging from the hundreds of boys the Y. M. C. A. has helped to make satisfactory adjustments in the past, it is not too much to hope that the present crisis in the lives of boys and young men will call out a new leadership which will help them to see the vision of a new day.

F

The social life of the Negro, as of other races, is definitely tied up with his leisure time; and, since the time necessary to produce the materials of life is gradually being decreased, guidance in the right use of leisure is becoming more important than it has been in the past.

The progress of the Y. M. C. A. in the social life of the Negro, as viewed from the number of leisure-time activities it promotes, is greater than the progress made by any other organization working with this group. Although very few of the colored Associations have a definite race-relations program, it does happen that in the relations of the white and colored Associations, and through meetings of boards of managers, of colored and white secretaries in staff assemblies, of colored and white students in Y. M. C. A. educational institutions, of

Older Boys' Conferences, of Hi-Y groups, of leaders' groups, and of inter-departmental athletic events, the leaven of interracial good-will very often works much more effectively than through a program of discussions seeking the same end.

The gradual moving over of the Y. M. C. A. into the realm of fellowship with flexibility at its best, under Christian leadership, is another move by the Association in the social progress of the community. Many Y. M. C. A. executive secretaries believe that the work of the Negro Y. M. C. A. especially must continue to move over into a larger field of community programs, building up activities in which the masses can find self-expression. In the meantime the Associations should consider their programs in a state of transition but should keep in mind character-building values as the basic principles of the movement.

Further, the Y. M. C. A. should be continuously on the lookout for "gaps" which always appear in the social planning of cities, and it should be prepared to discover and to pioneer in the development of new activities based on the social needs of the community as represented by these "gaps." One such "gap" presents an opportunity for the Association to promote in a very thorough way the kind of leisure-time program which will lend itself especially to the achievement of status by under-privileged groups. In boys' work this would mean to question rather seriously the present value

of the Association program for boys unless it carries its secretaries right into a hotbed of delinquency of individuals or groups, with a view to stabilizing these delinquent boys by giving them values which will appeal to them more strongly than individual tendencies or gang interests. With the delinquency and dependency rates among Negro boys continuing to rise in all the large cities, this opportunity to serve boys who need service most should appeal to all institutions working with Negro youth. With the return of saloons, especially those attached to dance halls, the gains already made by the Y. M. C. A.'s in the field of community service to adults will be seriously threatened unless they are consolidated by programs of larger services just as interesting in their appeal as the "wail" of the saxophone in the cheap dance hall or the allure of the cheap whiskey found in the saloon usually attached to dance halls. Dances can be made just as attractive in Y. M. C. A. buildings as those conducted in commercialized dance halls or in the back rooms of saloons.

In the field of the unemployed the Y. M. C. A. has helped the Civil Works Educational Service to engage the time of thousands of men and women through class studies and recreational activities. In the minds of many people this service has been just as important as the giving of food and clothing because it has helped to preserve the morale, self-respect, courage, and the later usefulness of

unemployed men and women, many of whom would otherwise have become discouraged and bitter. How to preserve the educational and social values now evident in the work of the CWES is a challenge which the Y. M. C. A.'s should accept willingly.

G: Conclusions

The Y. M. C. A. has developed a corps of trained workers and has experienced a history of successful achievement in character building which justifies its continuance and growth in American communities.

The economic and social status of colored people in 1853, when the Young Men's Christian Association Movement began among Negroes, was relatively unchanged by 1910, when the Y. M. C. A. building expansion program among colored people began. The majority of Negroes still worked at the most menial jobs, lived in the poorest sections of cities, and were without proper facilities for the enjoyment of wholesome social and recreational activities.

The nation-wide offer of Julius Rosenwald in 1910 to contribute $25,000 toward the erection of Y. M. C. A. buildings for colored men and boys began the phenomenal growth in the number of buildings erected. The expansion of programs created a new profession for Negroes—that of the trained Y. M. C. A. executive—and inaugurated

interracial work among new groups of whites and Negroes.

The general progress of the Y. M. C. A. has run concurrently with and has been a factor in this economic, social, and educational advancement.

The Y. M. C. A. was the first movement to encourage Negroes to establish and support social and recreational enterprises on a large scale; one of the direct results of the Y. M. C. A. building campaigns was the organization or reorganization of Negro businesses on a large scale by the same people who had directed the campaigns.

The erection of these twenty-five modern Y. M. C. A. buildings at a total cost of $5,815,969, with their programs of social improvement, religious education, physical education, together with dormitory and cafeteria service, gave the Negro of moderate income the first opportunity to enjoy and improve himself in an environment wholesome and invigorating.

The Y. M. C. A. buildings erected in the southern metropolitan areas—Atlanta, Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis, Kansas City—were financed to a greater proportion by subscriptions from Negroes than those erected in northern cities. This resulted partly from the necessity that the Negroes assume the initiative in the matter because of lack of interest among well-to-do whites.

The financial contributions given by Negroes to the construction of the "Rosenwald" Y. M.

C. A.'s are a small proportion of the total capital investment in plant and equipment.

Since 1910 the Negro population in northern industrial cities has had a phenomenal growth; the increase in southern communities has kept pace only with the general shift from rural to urban population which characterizes the entire country. The Negro population in most northern cities more than doubled between 1910 and 1930. There were increases of more than 300 per cent in Buffalo, Chicago, Evanston, Los Angeles, Montclair, Toledo, and Youngstown, with the amazing growth of 2813.8 per cent in Detroit.

The influx of southern Negroes to northern communities resulted in increasing the number of professional men, church organizations, and business institutions more than 100 per cent between 1920-1930.

Seven of the twenty-five modern Y. M. C. A. buildings serving colored men and boys are now located in or near communities in which the poorest Negroes live. Five are in territories which are changing rapidly from residential to industrial or commercial districts. These conditions affect the Y. M. C. A. programs and reduce the financial support from the districts served by the Associations.

Twenty-three of the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A. buildings need major repairs, and seventeen of them need complete renovation.

The organization and administration of the

"Rosenwald" Associations, according to the white Y. M. C. A. general secretaries, have been carried on efficiently, considering the greatly reduced income.

The programs for women and girls in the "Rosenwald" Associations are in the experimental stage only.

The membership of the Y. M. C. A.'s has increased during the past five years despite the financial depression because of free memberships for under-privileged boys, reduced rates for men, and intensive membership campaigns. The number of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five has decreased, a total of 6 per cent for all Associations, between 1928 and 1933.

Many under-secretaries with limited educational background have created staff problems detrimental to the Associations' work. The turnover in Y. M. C. A. secretaries is too high and the number of full-time secretaries is too low for the proper conduct and supervision of programs conducted in the "Rosenwald" Associations; also, there is a lack of coöperation between local Associations and the general agencies in recruiting new secretaries.

The colored men's department of the National Council has rendered valuable service to local Associations, especially in the field of finance. More frequent visits by colored national staff officers to local Associations would help to acquaint local Associations with the work of the general agencies.

Many Y. M. C. A. committees of management are self-perpetuating; consequently, many hold their positions long after their usefulness has disappeared.

The religious, physical, and boys' work programs of most of the "Rosenwald" Associations need to be changed. Studies are necessary to determine the exact nature of the changes.

The attention given by the "Rosenwald" Associations to community-work programs is negligible in the majority of cases because of lack of funds.

The very low average rate of dormitory occupancy maintained by the "Rosenwald" Associations since 1928 has been mainly responsible for the annual deficits of these Associations since that time.

Only a few "Rosenwald" Associations conduct summer camps, and a very small number own their camps. These conditions prevent thousands of needy boys from summer outings or camping periods, and frequent changes in camp schedules interfere with the summer programs.

The cafeteria records studied were insufficient to determine the costs of operation or their value to the Associations in the way of promoting dinners, banquets, etc.

H

"The old order changeth, giving place to new. . . ." Too often the change of the old order has wrought disaster to old institutions, and the new

order has been obliged to create its own institutions for a new day. It is not a mere rhetorical question, in the trying times in which we live, to inquire as to the possibility of survival of an institution that finds its program challenged by dramatic changes in the world to which it has grown accustomed.

Can the Y. M. C. A. change? Can the institution take on new life? Can it adapt itself to the new situations created by the society which gave it birth? Can it face the disorganization characteristic of the Negro frontier and aid in bringing some measure of adjustment to the individuals, families, and communities with which it works?

Self-analysis is difficult, but institutions, both religious and secular, are finding it worth their while to engage in the rigorous self-searching that reaches into the depths of the institution and its surrounding culture. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes has before it such a task. Whether through mobility of population, the economic collapse of its constituent classes, or the rise of new institutions created by the new state, it is now faced with serious problems demanding of its leadership an adjustment perhaps more difficult than that which disturbed the early founders of the institution.

The conclusion of this chapter consists of recommendations made by the author to the officials and lay members of the Associations surveyed here. It is his hope that something of the unsentimental

facing of facts characteristic of Julius Rosenwald shall enter into their consideration of these suggestions. It is also the author's hope that the members, friends, and patrons of this institution remember the inspiring words uttered by Julius Rosenwald in a dedicatory address of a Negro Young Men's Christian Association building:

"The noblest living are, the noblest dead were, your friends."

I: Recommendations

1. General Recommendations

a. Plans should be made as soon as possible by the colored men's department of the National Council to enlarge its services to local Associations.

b. Negro population trends and communities need to be studied before the erection of Y. M. C. A.'s for colored men and boys.

c. Buildings should be located in areas zoned for residential purposes and should include enough club rooms and other facilities for small group meetings.

d. All Y. M. C. A. campaigns for funds to rehabilitate buildings should include amounts for the Colored Association buildings.

e. The Young Men's Christian Association should enlarge its community activities as soon as possible and assume more responsibility for the welfare of the entire colored population.

f. The Associations should increase the number

of activities which will stimulate the imagination of boys, such as music, craft-work, dramatics, and thrift. A larger variety of games and exercises should be promoted in gymnasiums and natatoriums in order to maintain the interest of the older boys.

g. The Associations should determine the status of their present program with reference to character-building values in boys' work. The unattractive boys' lobbies and club rooms in most of these places, together with the understaffed personnel, tend to retard the expansion of the work.

2. Special Recommendations

a. Future appointments of secretaries in the colored Associations should be made from college graduates, preferably those with graduate training in Y. M. C. A. colleges.

b. At least one full-time secretary should be employed in each of the major divisions of the "Rosenwald" Y. M. C. A.'s.

c. The religious work of the Associations needs fuller coöperation with the churches, especially as a clearing house for inter-denominational young people's activities. Community leisure programs conducted by churches and the Y. M. C. A. are also recommended.

d. The aims and policies of the physical-education program of the Associations should be studied, especially in the light of present-day tendencies to

shift almost entirely from standard gymnasium exercises to recreational games.

e. A study of the high turnover in physical membership is recommended in order to learn why it is that men do not renew their memberships.

f. A serious study should be made of the advantages and limitations of competitive games between the Y. M. C. A.'s and other organizations, with special consideration as to their educational and social values.

g. The Associations working with women and girls should integrate the work with other program activities.

h. The guidance work carried on with boys should be placed in the hands of secretaries educationally qualified to do it, and this service should be extended as fast as possible to all types of boys using the Y. M. C. A. buildings. (There is a tendency in some Associations to consider the "rough neck" boy or the members of "gangs" beyond the possibilities of help.)

i. More boys should be enrolled who can pay membership fees; also young men in the age group from eighteen to twenty-five years. Reports of membership secretaries should be studied to determine ways of maintaining the active participation of young men.

j. There should be a larger degree of participation by older boys in the planning of their physical-work program, in order that a better integra-

tion of physical and boys'-work departments may be accomplished.

k. The best-trained boys'-work secretary should be placed in charge of the Hi-Y work because it represents an opportunity to interest the members of the age group from fifteen to twenty years, and to develop their usefulness to society.

l. Camping facilities for Negro boys are limited to an extraordinary degree in all cities. Consequently, the colored Associations should develop as fast as possible adequate summer camps, and strive to subsidize boys unable to pay camp fees.

PART TWO

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

In this part of the volume have been collected materials which, it has been thought, may have a professional interest for persons interested directly in the management of Y. M. C. A.'s either as members of managing bodies or as professional employees.

The first section consists of descriptions of the twenty-five Associations studied, and constitutes what may be called a series of institutional case studies. The detail of adjustment to the local community varies with each individual institution; and the descriptive material appended under this heading may have general interest as well for the student interested in the peculiar problems of the Negro community.

The second section deals with answers to questions regarding the management and program activities of the various Associations studied. These answers were obtained both by questionnaire and by interview. Both questions and answers focus attention upon crucial issues in the present structure of the Associations.

The third section includes certain tables giving in detail information regarding the twenty-five Associations as to finances, membership, and staff.

Comparisons not attempted in this volume on account of the limitations of space may readily be made by officials responsible for management.

The fourth section deals with a few selected individual case studies submitted by staff workers of local Y. M. C. A.'s, describing the work of the Associations in connection with the moral and physical rescue of delinquent boys.

I

INSTITUTIONAL CASE STUDIES

New York City

Total population.....6,587,225*
Negro population (5 per cent of total).... 327,706
Increase: 1920-1930.....191.1%
Increase: 1910-1930.....257.3%
Foreign-born population.....2,293,400
Increase: 1920-1930..... 15.0%

In the section of New York in which the 135th Street branch is located there are more than 125,000 Negroes. The Y. M. C. A. is practically in the center of the Negro population. Large churches (some with recreational houses attached), schools, theaters, public libraries, hospitals, social centers, modern dwellings, and substantial apartment buildings entirely surround the Y. M. C. A. The main transportation lines one-half block away are faced on both sides by business houses, stores, and restaurants, above which are good, bad, and indifferent living apartments, many of them of the "shot-gun" variety found in tenement districts. The density of Negro population in this section jumped from 32 in 1910 to 228 per acre in 1930. This was brought about by room-crowding in apartment buildings and by dividing single-family

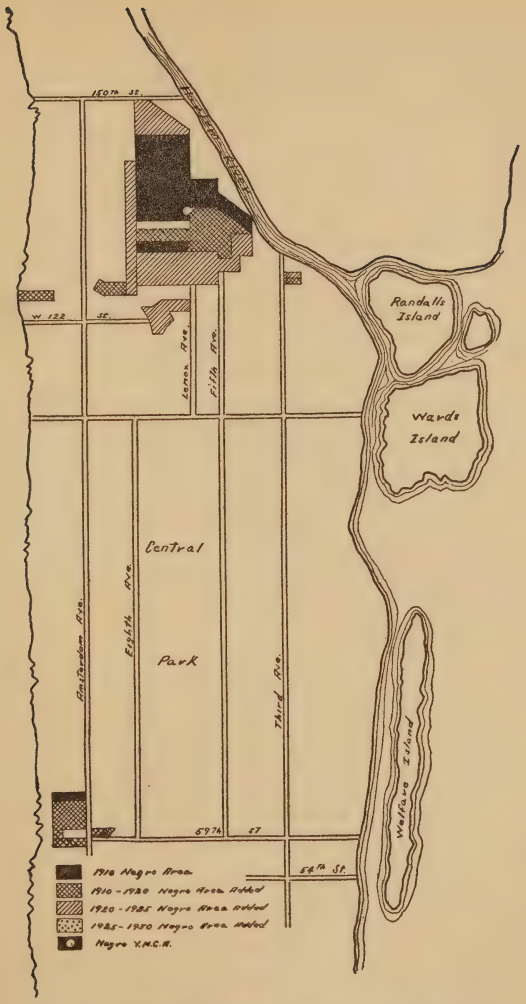
* This and all similar figures are as of 1930.

dwellings for multiple occupancy. The results of this overcrowding have been large increases in the mortality and morbidity rates of Negroes living under these conditions. In other sections of this district fairly good and, in a few cases, completely modern apartment buildings are owned or rented by Negro families of moderate incomes. Single dwellings in good physical condition, and sometimes ornate in appearance, are also occupied by families of moderate means. The Y. M. C. A. membership is drawn from the business and professional men and boys whose parents are largely of this class.

The Y. M. C. A. building and equipment are in good physical condition, especially with respect to maintenance and cleanliness. The lack of funds is probably the reason why no expenditure of money has been made to clean the woodwork in the lobby and in other conspicuous places. It might be helpful if a restudy of the scheme of decorations for all of the several spaces on the main floor could be made and a change effected which will reduce the cost of upkeep. The color scheme of decoration and the furnishings are in good taste and in good order. Modern appliances for heating, lighting, and ventilation are used and are working efficiently.

The chart on the page opposite shows the 135th Street branch in its setting in the Negro area.

The program of activities going on in the 135th



EXPANSION OF NEGRO AREA ON MANHATTAN ISLAND, 1910-1930

Street branch has to be appraised on the same basis as that of white Y. M. C. A. buildings of similar size and budget. From the point of view of a standardized Y. M. C. A. program the activities in the 135th Street branch measure up to the average white Y. M. C. A. of New York in point of attendance at gymnasium classes, Bible classes, Sunday forums, and employment service. As a community center it surpasses in the number of community activities carried on within the Association building any of the New York Y. M. C. A.'s or any other organization located in the Borough of Manhattan.

It is not possible to evaluate on a short visit the activities of the scores of different groups meeting in this building. The variety of courses offered in the educational work is the thing which attracts interest first, possibly due to the significance that the branch attaches to the value of adult education in the Negro's program of social progress. The various musical organizations—orchestras, glee clubs, choruses, etc.—under the direction of Y. M. C. A. laymen, are rapidly winning their way on the stage and radio to a high place in the musical life of the entire city. The little theater movement, housed in quarters especially prepared for it when the building was erected, gives opportunity for the expression of the histrionic ability of Negro and white actors in plays dealing with the folk-ways of different races.

The Sunday-morning meditation hour and the

Sunday-school lesson review prepare the dormitory members for useful service on Sunday. According to the records, courses have been given under the leadership of competent instructors relative to the Negro's place in history, business, science, art, politics, religion, literature, and music.

The cafeteria, lobby, and billiard rooms serve as meeting places where food is served, social amenities exchanged, or games played before the members go on to other designated activities.

It is the understanding of the writer that, when budgets permit, the 135th Street branch will conduct a community-work program in neighborhoods outside the immediate influence of the Association.

* * *

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Total population.....2,488,448
Negro population (2.8 per cent of total)... 68,921
Increase: 1920-1930.....162.5%
Increase: 1910-1930.....203.0%
Foreign-born population.....868,770
Increase: 1920-1930..... 31.8%

The Carlton Avenue branch is situated conveniently to all transportation lines. Notwithstanding an increase of 203 per cent in the Negro population of Brooklyn since 1910, there has appeared but little congestion and practically no slum area. The percentage of home ownership is high and the colored population is distributed evenly throughout the city. In the immediate

vicinity of the Y. M. C. A. building small groups of Negroes live; the more prosperous groups, however, live a considerable distance away. The membership of the Y. M. C. A. is being gradually affected by the distance men and boys must travel in order to reach the building.

Because of its age (the building was dedicated in 1917) and lack of general repairs from time to time, this building is in poor condition. The plumbing needs replacing in all parts of the building. A new heating plant is needed and a new gymnasium floor. The gymnasium apparatus is worn out—some of it from use, some of it from disuse. Major repairs are needed in the dormitory, especially the plaster work; and in washrooms, lavatories, boys' department, and cafeteria. Faulty construction in the apparatus for heating the swimming pool makes it very expensive to maintain an even temperature. The entire building needs renovating and new furnishings.

* * *

MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

Total population.....35,588
Negro population (15 per cent of total)..... 6,386
Increase: 1910-1930.....905.6%

The extraordinary increase in Negro population in Montclair is due no doubt to the rapid increase in the general population of this city. People working in New York City and Newark have residences there and employ colored people

in their homes. A few hundred Negro men are also employed in the stores, hotels, and garages.

The architecture of the Montclair building, like that of others built since 1925, is sharply different from that prevailing earlier. It is Spanish in style, with stucco finish. The physical condition of the building is fairly good. Some repairs are needed to the equipment and furnishings. Special attention should be given to the dormitory rooms, which are unattractive, no more from needed repairs to furnishings than from the lack of warmth in the color scheme used in the decoration and furnishings of the draperies, bed spreads, and rugs. There is no cafeteria.

The membership is drawn from families living in all sections of this relatively small city and from Newark, Paterson, Passaic, Bloomfield, and Morristown, N. J. The building serves as a community house also. Both boys and girls use it extensively.

* * *

ORANGE, NEW JERSEY

Total population.....27,390
Negro population (19 per cent of total)..... 6,382
Increase: 1920-1930..... 91.4%
Increase: 1910-1930.....157.4%

This city is about the same size as Montclair, New Jersey, but is much older. Although the increase in Negro population has not been so great as in Montclair, the number of colored people there is very nearly the same, about one half of

them being old residents. In 1932, the Oakwood branch was dedicated. All but the top floor is completed. The branch is receiving considerable use as a community center as well as for the institutional program features. The membership is composed principally of men and boys who are able to pay their way. The under-privileged boy is welcome but he has not yet taken advantage of the Y. M. C. A. activities.

The Association is located in a neighborhood of homes of good appearance. There is no slum area in this city, but many families live considerably below the level of income necessary for good housing and freedom from receiving charity from friends or from relief organizations. The majority of gainfully-employed men and women are working as porters or domestic servants. The professional and business groups are few but rather successful. The churches are located in the neighborhood of the Association.

In this city the Y. M. C. A. has a unique arrangement with the Y. W. C. A., which is located within a few yards of the Y. M. C. A. building. Both of the Associations use the same swimming pool, which is reached by the members of the Y. W. C. A. through a corridor connecting the two buildings. Both of the buildings are heated by the same boilers, located in the Y. M. C. A.

In addition, the two organizations carry on jointly a number of social activities in one gym-

nasium. The arrangements have proved satisfactory to both groups, and the expense of maintenance has been lowered.

* * *

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Total population.....558,869
Negro population (2 per cent of total)..... 13,563
Increase: 1920-1930.....521.1%
Increase: 1910-1930.....681.4%
Foreign-born population.....118,316
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 2.6%

The Y. M. C. A. building in this city is six years old and is located on the edge of what is rapidly becoming a blighted area. It continues, however, to draw the larger part of its membership from among the families who formerly lived near the building, but who have gradually moved to other and better locations. Not very far from this building the Negro colony runs contiguous to what was formerly the vice district, where families now live in rear houses and alleys. Cabarets, pool rooms, lodgings with light-housekeeping appointments, and furnished rooms for transient laborers abound with loafers, shiftless women, and destitute families. Adjacent to the Y. M. C. A. building, however, is a neighborhood of well-built houses, clean streets, and well-ordered homes.

With but one full-time employed worker, the activities program is not equal to the demands the membership places upon it. Volunteer leadership

carries a part of the direction of activities, but considerably more trained leadership is needed to continue the work on even its present basis. Two outstanding program features which are being conducted at the present time are the band-orchestra and choral work in the men's department, and the craft-shop work in the boys' section.

Although this building was clean and attractive, it was evident that it is a considerable problem to keep tidy because of the limited janitor force and maid service. The furnishings in the main lobby are in fairly good condition. The furnishings and equipment in the boys' department need replacing. The paint on the cement floor shows considerable wear and should be cleaned off; the many cracks should be filled in and the floors repainted, waxed, and polished.

The problem of controlling the overflow of boys from the pool and billiard rooms into the very small lobby is a serious one. As in other cities, the boys involved in the situation in Buffalo range in age from fifteen to eighteen and consider themselves too old for the boys' department. With the limited secretarial staff, practically no program is made for this age group; and while they are in the building, which is continuously from three to ten in the evening, they are either in the gymnasium or the billiard rooms. In many cases their presence in the billiard room at night has discouraged the men, for whom the room was intended, from

playing pool or billiards. From interviews with the secretaries of all of the Y. M. C. A.'s visited, it was agreed that the development of an activities program sufficiently attractive to interest the fifteen-to-eighteen-year age group is one of the most serious and important problems facing the Association.

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PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Total population.....1,728,457
Negro population (12.1 per cent of total).. 219,599
Increase: 1920-1930.....101.1%
Increase: 1910-1930.....160.0%
Foreign-born population.....308,624
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 7.3%

There were 2,500 Negroes and 50,000 whites in Philadelphia when the first census was taken in 1790.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, describing in 1899 the housing conditions under which Philadelphia Negroes then lived, stated that a very large number of families of two and three lived in single bedrooms, sometimes even taking in lodgers. He found 829 such families in one ward. Of 2,441 families, only 334 had access to bath-rooms and water-closets. Many of the 334 families had to share the use of the bath-room with other families. The bath-tubs usually were not supplied with hot water and very often had no water connections at all. When the Negro population increased so

rapidly that housing accommodations became scarce, opportunities were opened for money-getting landlords to build up their back-yards with tenements. This (according to DuBois) was the origin of the blind alleys and dark holes which have made that section of Philadelphia so notorious.*

The distribution of the Negro population in Philadelphia since 1900 is very interesting. About 50 per cent of them lived on Market Street south of Vine, and were either in the homes of white families as servants or in the alleys. Between Market and South Streets lived 25 per cent of the Negroes, so crowded that the number of persons per acre was all out of proportion to health standards or decent living. The remaining 25 per cent were south of Market Street and north of Vine Street.

Although there has been considerable penetration of Negro families to West and North Philadelphia, there has been but very little improvement since 1899 in the housing conditions of Negroes living in the areas described by DuBois. Since 1910 many families with moderate incomes have moved away, but the dwellings vacated have been overcrowded with larger families of the very low income group, causing congestion, with subsequent high mortality rates. It is estimated that from

* DuBois, W. E. B., *The Philadelphia Negro,* Chapters 5 and 15.

thirty to forty fairly well-to-do families still live in this district in homes bought by them years ago and which have been preserved through the years by repairs and careful management. The typical settlements and tenement houses described by Du-Bois still remain, however, in this territory, which includes in the Second, Third, and Fourth Wards the same kind of overcrowding, with an even increased mortality rate among the people who live there.

The Christian Street branch of the Philadelphia Y. M. C. A. is located near the center of this overcrowded and dilapidated section. Most of the churches are still in this area, and the Negro business district is four blocks away. Transportation facilities are within one block of the Y. M. C. A. building and connect with trunk lines to all parts of the city. It is thought by many colored people in Philadelphia that, although it is impossible for the Y. M. C. A., the churches, and the social agencies to improve the housing conditions prevalent in these wards, there are many opportunities for constructive social work both with the owners of these tenement houses, shacks, and dilapidated dwellings—especially those in the alleys—and with the people whose behavior attitudes keep the crime rate high. The adult-education programs carried on by the social agencies are not varied enough. Hospitalization facilities for the sick, particularly maternity cases, are poor. And the death rate from

lung tuberculosis is higher than in other sections of the city.

Because of the lack of money, the Y. M. C. A. has been unable to employ a secretarial staff large enough to conduct an effective program within the building. Any Y. M. C. A. community-work program is entirely out of the question at the present time. The building, however, does serve as a community center, and a very good but very limited work is going on with boys' clubs, physical work, Bible classes, and Sunday-afternoon religious services.

* * *

HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Total population.....76,600
Negro population (6 per cent of total)..... 5,027
Increase: 1910-1930.....10.8%
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 4.2%

The Y. M. C. A. is located within one block of a main trunk line of transportation, which intersects two of the central business streets of the city four blocks away. The area in which the Association is located is one of good homes, although many families of moderate incomes are gradually moving away. Four influential colored churches and two white ones are within three blocks of the Y. M. C. A., as is also a large public school where most of the pupils are colored. There is an extensive mill district included in the metropolitan area

and in which many Negroes worked before the depression.

The Y. M. C. A. was dedicated in 1933. Architecturally, and from the standpoint of equipment and furnishings, this building is very attractive. The color scheme used to decorate the men's lobby and the natatorium gives an oriental effect to the lower floors. The dormitory rooms are well spaced and the furnishings are attractive enough to draw eventually a large resident membership. The building is too new and the secretarial staff entirely too small to have developed as yet a program of activities capable of attracting a membership larger than the one now using the facilities. The community response has been excellent, and the financial support from the membership is much beyond that expected in a city when a modern Y. M. C. A. building has been operating for such a short time.

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PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Total population.....614,317
Negro population (9 per cent of total)..... 54,983
Increase: 1920-1930..... 67.3%
Increase: 1910-1930.....114.5%
Foreign-born white population.....109,072
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 9.3%

Pittsburgh is divided into four major Negro communities: Northside, Southside, Hill District,

and the Homewood-Brushton District. The Centre Avenue Y. M. C. A. is located in the heart of the Hill District community, in which are found 25,000 Negroes living within one square mile of the building. The Y. M. C. A. is within one block of the main Negro business thoroughfare and is on a street-car and bus line.

The topography of Pittsburgh, including as it does the confluence of two rivers, fairly deep gorges, hills, and ravines, has influenced greatly the lines of the city's growth. With the colored population distributed mainly in four sections of the city and separated by hills (a large area being contiguous to the industrial zone), the Y. M. C. A. building in some cases is more than a half-hour's ride on the street car from these points.

An excellent community program has been developed which, if more money were available, could be carried to points not now touched. The building was dedicated in 1919. Although renovation has been made recently in the lobby, cafeteria, and boys' department, the sooty condition of the atmosphere and the marks made by tilting chairs against the walls, etc., have made another cleaning necessary at the present time. The cafeteria in this building is kept attractive; the food is well cooked, and prices are reasonable. Although the housekeeping in the dormitory as well as in other sections is good, the dormitory rooms need redecorating, the equipment needs repairing, and new

furniture of a more durable kind should be placed in the boys' section as soon as possible. Good landscaping would add to the appearance of the front of the building. One of the most attractive features of the program activities is the Sunday-afternoon meeting, which draws an attendance averaging nine hundred people during the winter and spring months. An excellent program is being conducted among under-privileged boys. Several classes in adult education are being taught by teachers on funds from the Civil Works Educational Service. The boys' work program is conducted with a full-time secretary, and includes among its special features a travel club. Intelligence tests are given by university students. An unusually large number of boys in this Association pay their own memberships, especially in the Hi-Y groups.

The physical work is well planned and is conducted by a full-time instructor and one part-time assistant, who is paid by the Civil Works Educational Service.

* * *

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Total population.....662,124
Negro population (21.5 per cent of total)...142,106
Increase: 1920-1930.....39.8%
Increase: 1910-1930.....67.6%

Foreign-born population.....74,410
Decrease: 1920-1930.....11.3%

The first Negroes to settle in any number in Baltimore (1790) lived along the water-front of South Baltimore. As the business section developed, both Negroes and whites were pushed inland. The colored people moved in a southeasterly direction until most of them were living in what was known as "East Baltimore." Migration of colored families from South and East Baltimore to North and Northwest Baltimore began in the middle of the nineteenth century, due primarily to white families housing the Negro servants in small houses at the rear of the residences or in alleys near by. By 1905 a considerable colony was living beyond the outskirts of Northwest Baltimore, the largest concentration lying between Druid Hill Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, and Eutaw and North Avenues. Between 1905 and 1930, the colored population movement has been directly from South and East to North and Northwest Baltimore. Since 1930 practically no shift in the Negro population has been noticeable.

Baltimore affords a much larger variety of occupations open to Negroes than do most cities.

The Druid Hill Y. M. C. A. branch is approximately five blocks east of the center of the combined Northwest and West Baltimore sections. In this area the Negro population is heaviest. The building is located, however, from three to five miles from the thickly-populated East and Northeast sections. There are two transfer lines and one

trunk line of transportation within one hundred yards of the branch.

The program of activities in the Baltimore branch concerns itself almost entirely with the promotion and supervision of community groups holding meetings in the buildings. As in other Associations, dancing is allowed here under the direct supervision of the secretaries. Bridge games are also permitted occasionally. With only the part-time services of one physical director, a standardized program of physical work has been impossible. Basket-ball and volley-ball games constitute here as in many buildings the chief activity in the physical section. The boys' section promotes the Hi-Y groups, Father and Son banquets, and Sunday-afternoon meetings. Other phases of standard Y. M. C. A. work are on the program but are not now in operation because of the lack of trained leadership.

The Baltimore branch was dedicated in 1918. From the present appearance of this building, it is evident that very little money has been spent in repairs and maintenance. The plumbing in all parts of the building needs general repairs and in several places replacement (this is especially true in several showers and toilets and wash-rooms). The condition of the swimming pool demands immediate attention. The plaster in a number of dormitory rooms and the halls needs to be torn out and new plaster substituted. The equipment in the

gymnasium needs replacing, as well as in many of the social rooms. One new boiler is needed badly.

The building is kept remarkably clean in view of the inadequate janitor and maid service. The men's lobby is attractive, but the boys' lobby and play-rooms are without rugs, furniture, games, or chairs. Several years ago more than $10,000 was spent in an effort to rehabilitate this branch. That much, at least, must be spent again in repairs and furnishings before the secretarial staff can develop activities attractive enough to enable the Association to render the service it should through a building program. There is a great need for a community-service program in East and South Baltimore.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Total population.....485,982
Negro population (27.2 per cent of total)....132,068
Increase: 1920-1930.....25.5%
Increase: 1910-1930.....39.8%
Foreign-born population.....29,932
Increase: 1920-1930..... 4.8%

In Washington, as in many southern cities, the web of life is a checker-board of black and white. Unlike many other cities, however, Washington has had a large Negro population ever since the Civil War. In the vicinity of Howard University can be found beautiful homes of a number of well-to-do Negroes. Other Negroes can be found living

in alleys and back streets of the city within a few blocks of the University.

The Board of Education and the United States Government employ thousands of colored people as teachers and clerks; while in domestic service—hotels, apartment houses, and stores—can be found other thousands regularly employed. The Y. M. C. A. building is located within one-fourth of a mile of the center of eighty thousand Negroes, the largest and most progressive area of the colored population.

The population trend of Negroes is northward —past Howard University—toward the suburbs, where an area of new homes has been established. The movement is relatively slow and will not affect the work of the Y. M. C. A. with the better economic group for some time.

The physical condition of the Y. M. C. A. building is mainly good. Recent renovation has put furniture and equipment in good condition. The plumbing in wash-rooms needs overhauling and the swimming pool should be repaired. Possibly the most satisfying physical feature of this building is the set-up in the boys' department. The "log-cabin room" is very attractive and is used continuously during the afternoons and evenings. The neatly-trimmed shrubbery and the trees in the front of the building add very much to the attractiveness of the outside of the building.

The program of the 12th Street branch as taken

from the records covers a wide range of activities. The record of the boys' work is especially good. This department promotes the only *bona fide* troop of colored Sea Scouts with a sea-going vessel. In the physical section, the pattern runs to recreational games—basket-ball, etc.

* * *

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Total population.....270,366
Negro population (33.3 per cent of total).... 90,075
Increase: 1920-1930.....59.3%
Increase: 1910-1930.....73.5%
Foreign-born population.....4,727

The trend in the Negro population in Atlanta is from the Auburn Avenue district to the west side of the city. (Auburn Avenue is the main business street.) On adjacent streets are dwellings where the rent is low, but the houses are old and the owners and agents neglectful. Some of the inhabitants are shiftless and are notorious for indolence, vice, and crime. Poverty and disease make the mortality rate in this section of the city high. Better neighborhoods are found west of the river; but even here substantially-built homes are found next to dwellings of less desirable types, greatly in need of paint and repairs. The spaces between the houses are narrow and the yards shallow and without grass or paved walks. In the home-owning neighborhoods (principally found in the district

in which Atlanta University is located) desirable communities are growing up. A housing development for Negroes was promoted several years ago by Heman E. Perry, President of the Standard Life Insurance Company of Atlanta, in three different sections of the city. The largest development was a short distance north-west of Atlanta University, and comprised an area of one square mile. It is estimated that the average cost of these new homes was $5,000, not including the cost of the land. These homes were purchased on long-term contracts. The development of this housing project in the north-western section of Atlanta brought to that section many desirable families, many of whom were engaged in unskillful labor, and others who were engaged in business and in the professions.

Most of the Negroes of Atlanta, when employed, work in factories, steel mills, packing plants, and in domestic service. The professional class serves as teachers, lawyers, ministers, and physicians. The principal businesses are insurance companies, drug stores, banks, hotels, undertaking establishments, and small stores.

The colored branch of the Y. M. C. A. is located in the Auburn Avenue district. It is estimated that 56,000 Negroes live within one square mile of the building, most of them on a low economic level. Two main lines of street-car transportation run within one-half block of the Y. M. C. A.

The Y. M. C. A. building was dedicated in 1920.

The building is in need of general repairs and painting. Furniture and equipment in the men's lobby and in the boys' department need replacement. The furniture in the dormitory rooms was second-hand when installed and is now worn out entirely. General repairs are needed to the gymnasium equipment, locker, and shower rooms. There is no heating system for the swimming pool. A well-conducted boys' work program is promoted.

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Total population	1,440,141
Negro population (8 per cent of total)	120,066*
Increase: 1920-1930	2,202.5%
Increase: 1910-1930	2,813.8%
Foreign-born population	399,281
Increase: 1920-1930	38.3%

The center of Negro population in this city is two and one-half miles north-west of the Y. M. C. A. building. Adjacent to this building is a district of small second-rate shops and dwellings which are rapidly deteriorating. The business district of the city is five blocks away. The density of Negro population by blocks is much greater in this area than in the other areas in which colored people live. Shacks of two and three rooms are to be found here occupied by unskilled workers (most of them out of work) and their families. Large

* The growth of Negro population in this city has been more rapid than in any of the other cities studied.

houses originally built for one family are to be found, usually overcrowded with transient roomers. The economic level of the families living in this area is low and the cultural lack of many of them is very apparent. Transportation to all parts of the city is within easy access, and the majority of the dormitory residents are men who work in industries some distance away.

The Detroit Y. M. C. A. was dedicated in 1925. The physical condition of the building is poor. General repairs, especially of plumbing and plaster, are needed badly. The building is kept as clean as possible with a greatly reduced janitor and maid service. Most of the equipment is worn out, some of it due to natural wear and some to rough usage. The cafeteria has been closed for some time. Physical and boys' work are the strongest program activities. A municipal community center has made considerable inroads on the work done by this Association.

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CINCINNATI, OHIO

Total population.....403,112
Negro population (11.8 per cent of total).... 47,818
Increase: 1920-1930..... 90.3%
Increase: 1910-1930.....143.4%
Foreign-born population.....34,835
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 18.7%

The original city of Cincinnati began along the

river-front at a point which is now the south-central part. The commercial life of the city extended four blocks west and three blocks north from the river. The residential section began at what is now 4th Street and Broadway. Negro runaway slaves from Kentucky and free Negroes from Pennsylvania were the first colored settlers. In 1800 there were 337 Negroes in the State of Ohio; in 1850 there were 25,279 Negroes living there, 3,237 of them residing in Cincinnati. Between 1826-1840 the problem of the free Negroes and runaway slaves migrating to Cincinnati, together with that of the poor whites from the uplands of Kentucky and Virginia, became very acute because of the social and business relations between Cincinnati and the slave-holding States. Because of the influence of southern States, the Negroes were ostracized socially in the city of Cincinnati. The children were not permitted to attend the public schools and so menial was the only work Negroes were allowed to perform—scrubbing, etc.—that in many cases women became the bread winners because the men could find nothing to do.

During this period Lane Seminary was founded, with Dr. Henry Ward Beecher, father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, as the first president. It has been said that it was from the windows of this house that Harriet Beecher Stowe, looking over the Ohio River to the hills of Kentucky, received the idea and inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was to

such men and women as Dr. Beecher and his daughter that John G. Fee went after being driven out of Kentucky, his native State, for his attempt to establish a Negro school.

There are now five distinct areas of Negro life in Cincinnati: West End, with a population of about 33,276; Walnut Hills, with about 6,541; Avondale district, with about 733; Madisonville, 434; O'Brienville, 242. The economic distribution runs generally as follows: West End, a few old settlers, but mostly laborers and domestic servants; Walnut Hills, federal employees, professional and business classes; Avondale, domestic servants in the main; Madisonville, federal employees, social workers, school teachers; O'Brienville, domestic servants.

The trend of Negro population in Cincinnati has been northward from the river. The present trek is north-east to the hill area, but it is slow compared with the northward trend of several years ago. The Madisonville area, in the extreme north-east, is a section of home owners. Workers from the west-end area travel three miles to work in plants at Oakley, a factory district. No amount of persuasion has been able to induce these workers to live near the plants in which they work. The location of churches, the Y. M. C. A., lodge halls, and other meeting places in the west-end district has been given as a reason for the industrial group desiring to live there.

The Y. M. C. A. is in the west-end district, near the center of the largest concentration of colored people in Cincinnati. A considerable extension-work program is carried on, especially with underprivileged boys.

The building was dedicated in 1916. The front of the building is composed of ordinary red brick with a sandstone finish. The furniture in the men's lobby and boys' department has withstood the wear and tear of the years splendidly, but replacements should be made as soon as possible, especially in the boys' department. The wall spaces throughout the building, with the exception of the men's lobby, are in need of redecorating. A considerable amount of the dormitory equipment is worn out. Window drapes would improve the outside appearance of the building and would make the rooms themselves more attractive. The billiard and pool room in the basement should be redecorated. The bowling alley is kept in excellent condition. The toilets, especially the one nearest the pool room, which is used continuously during the afternoon and evening, should be checked more frequently for used towels, etc., and the sputum and chewing gum should be removed from the floor and baseboards. The gymnasium needs redecorating and repairs to floors. The brass, windows, swimming pool, halls and rooms were found clean, especially so in view of the greatly reduced janitor and maid service.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Total population	257,595
Negro population (12.7 per cent of total)	32,774
Increase: 1920-1930	83.1%
Increase: 1910-1930	157.2%
Foreign-born population	15,279
Decrease: 1920-1930	4.8%

This city, like Youngstown, Ohio, is located on both sides of a river. The business section spreads a mile from the Scioto River, running east and west. Next to the business section is one area of colored homes, interspersed with various small plants and stores. The Y. M. C. A. is located in this area. It is within three blocks of the down-town district and one block from a cross-town transportation line, which connects with the trunk lines of the city. The better economic group has moved away, going eastward from the location of the Y. M. C. A. building. It is thought by the Y. M. C. A. officials that within the next five years the district in which the building is located will be entirely industrial, and that enough money will be available from the sale of the property to use as the basis of a campaign for a new building.

The Columbus building was dedicated in 1918. The entire building is in very bad physical condition. It needs about everything a building could need if it is to stay open for business. The greatest needs are a thorough cleaning-up—repairs, decorating, new rugs, new shades, new gymnasium

floor, swimming-pool repairs, and repairs to showers. The cement floors should be waxed and polished. Door hinges are rusty, window frames loose, plaster bad throughout the building, and some of the brick-work is loose. In order to make the bed-rooms even a little attractive, money should be secured to redecorate the dormitory rooms, substituting Sanitas or Salubia for paint. Either one of these pattern materials could be removed without injury to the walls. The executive secretary and his very small staff of helpers are working valiantly to keep the building clean but without much success. A wise thing to do would be to rent or sell the present building and to establish a Y. M. C. A. community program at a point where a new building will be of the greatest service in the future.

* * *

DAYTON, OHIO

Total population.....183,831
Negro population (9.3 per cent of total)..... 17,077
Increase: 1920-1930.....167.0%
Increase: 1910-1930.....254.0%
Foreign-born population.....12,014
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 8.4%

The business section of Dayton is built east and south of the Miami River. The best residential districts are in the south-east and north-west sections of the city. The largest concentration of

colored people lives in a district which begins at one end of the business area and moves west and south. According to the City Planning Board, the colored people are as yet but one and a half miles from their original habitation and moving slowly westward toward the better housing neighborhoods.

The Y. M. C. A. is now located two blocks from the geographical center of the Negro population in Dayton. The churches are located in the same area and most of the business life goes on there. The Association is on one of the main lines of transportation and is easily accessible from any part of the city. The lack of funds has crippled the secretarial staff to such an extent that supervision, especially for boys, is very difficult. This condition makes for general disorder in the men's lobby and on the first dormitory floor, where a club-room is located. One of the best features of program activities in this building is the excellently-planned and splendidly-conducted Hi-Y program.

The Dayton Y. M. C. A. building was dedicated in 1928. It is early English in design and is fireproof except for the gymnasium. New window shades are needed, particularly in the dormitory. Windows need calking, furnishings need repairs generally, and considerable decorating is needed. In the swimming pool, lime deposits have created slime, which should be cleaned off as soon as pos-

sible. The men's lounge looks uninviting because there are no rugs, and the furnishings badly need renovating. The Y. M. C. A., however, is the center of community activities and is very little affected by the program carried on in a municipally controlled center three blocks away.

* * *

TOLEDO, OHIO

Total population.....276,741
Negro population (4.8 per cent of total).... 13,260
Increase: 1920-1930.....403.2%
Increase: 1910-1930.....606.4%
Foreign-born population.....33,474
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 11.8%

The present spread of Negro population runs west from the railroad tracks to the better residential district. The Indiana Avenue branch of the Y. M. C. A. is on the main residential street of the colored section and well within the center of good homes. Trunk-line transportation passes the door and connects with other transportation lines to all parts of the city.

The building was dedicated in 1930 and represents a departure from the architectural design used in Y. M. C. A. buildings in larger cities. The physical condition of the building is good; only minor repairs and decorating are needed. The equipment is of standard quality and the color scheme of the lobby, boys' department, dormitory, and swimming pool fits in harmoniously with the

rest of the building. A small lunch counter serves as a dining room.

Because of the restricted budget, the program of activities of this building is considerably below the need of the community. The splendid relations existing between the Y. M. C. A. and the churches offer many more opportunities for community work than the Association can afford to accept. The leadership of the Association is desired by the community; and, although there are but two employed officers, the Association has succeeded largely by the use of volunteer workers in establishing leadership for club work in the churches, leadership training courses, young people's leagues, young men's councils, and clubs of unorganized groups of boys in the community. Because of the highly-churched community, and because of the support which the Indiana Avenue branch receives from the churches, the Association does not promote activities which do not carry the stamp of approval of the church; namely, dancing and card playing.

* * *

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Total population	155,108
Negro population (9.4 per cent of total)	14,552
Increase: 1920-1930	407.5%
Increase: 1910-1930	651.0%
Foreign-born population	32,938
Decrease: 1920-1930	2.5%

This city spreads, fan shape, on both sides of the Mahoning River. Industries are located on both sides, the business section confining itself largely to the north side of the river. Negroes live in all sections of the city. The heaviest concentration, however, is in the Second and Third Wards, in the center of which is located the colored Y. M. C. A. Most of the churches are also located in the same neighborhood. During the last ten years a considerable number of Negro families have been buying property in the southern part of the city, about one and a half miles away. Transient families are slowly moving westward to the mill district. Transportation to all parts of the city is within a minute's walk of the building.

Youngstown is the only city in which there is a modern colored Y. M. C. A. building where Negroes themselves did not have an opportunity to subscribe to the building campaign fund. A hundred thousand dollars was raised in gifts from less than one hundred persons and business firms. The top floor of the building is yet to be furnished, and it is hoped that the colored people will supply the necessary $2,000 for that purpose or pay for the present equipment.

The Y. M. C. A. is the center of most of the social and play life of the group. The night the writer arrived, an indoor circus was in progress with over five hundred people in attendance. The previous

night more than three hundred people had attended.

Youngstown was one of the industrial cities of the North to have its Negro population more than double between 1920 and 1930. Since there was no definite Y. M. C. A. work among Negroes during that decade, the adjustment of the newcomers, many of them rural, did not move so fast as in cities where Y. M. C. A. work was in progress. Most of them entered a variety of occupations, the majority going to the steel mills and foundries. Negroes going to Youngstown during the migration were subjected to the same bad housing conditions as those in which the foreign-born groups lived—with their subsequent social problems and other maladjustments. The Y. M. C. A., after working with this group both in the plants during the noon hour and in the evenings, has found encouragement in the tendency toward improvement. The main program features of this Y. M. C. A. are industrial and boys' work.

The physical condition of the building was satisfactory from the standpoint of freedom from dirt in hallways, floor space, and dormitory quarters. The wall surfaces, especially in lobbies, club rooms, and offices, need cleaning and redecorating. Several windows need weatherstripping. The furniture in the men's lobby and boys' department needs repairing. The problem of keeping this entire building attractive is difficult

because of the dirty atmosphere of the entire city. The reduced janitor force has made it impossible to do any more than is being done at the present time to keep the building in better physical condition.

* * *

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Total population.....320,064
Negro population (13.7 per cent of total).... 43,967
Increase: 1920-1930..... 42.6%
Increase: 1910-1930.....101.5%
Foreign-born population.....13,740
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 19.0%

The city of Indianapolis is situated in central Indiana on the east and west sides of the White River. The larger part of the west side of the river is given over to manufacturing concerns and industries; the business section is located on the east side. There are also a few industries scattered throughout the lower east side of the river. Railroad tracks traverse both sections, but form no particular barriers to the growth of the business or commercial districts.

The heaviest concentration of Negroes extends north and west from the business district. The second-heaviest populated Negro area is an industrial area, located in the north-east, running north one mile and east one mile. It is estimated that 1,200 colored people live near the plants in which

they work, or did up to 1930-31. The location of the best Negro residential section is from Capital Avenue at Twenty-first Street, extending north to Thirtieth Street, west on Thirtieth Street to Northwestern Avenue, and back to Twenty-first Street—an area of one square mile.

The Y. M. C. A. building is now considered as being in a blighted area, although close enough to the Negro business section to serve the Y. M. C. A. members working in that neighborhood. Families of moderate incomes are living in neighborhoods at considerable distances from either the location of the Y. M. C. A. or the colored business streets. It is feared that the general industrial and manufacturing businesses will in a relatively short time entirely surround the Y. M. C. A. building.

It is very obvious that industry was responsible for the increase of more than 101 per cent in the Negro population of Indianapolis. As in Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and other northern centers, industry has dominated the economic life of the Negro and the foreign-born group. The reduction in the number of European immigrants coming to this country made it possible for Negroes and Mexicans to migrate to northern cities in response to the call for workers. In normal times the presence of thousands of Negro men working in the industrial plants of Indianapolis constituted a challenge which the Y. M. C. A.'s accepted wholeheartedly. Since the depression, the challenge to

meet the social, educational, and physical needs of this class of workers has been even greater than it was during the years immediately preceding 1929. This Association has been able during the last five years to concentrate the major part of its activities in the industrial work with its members. Hundreds of Negroes formerly employed in the industries have responded enthusiastically, and have crowded the building regularly, particularly in programs of their own planning. The promotion of boxing and wrestling bouts, forum discussions, and educational classes has been particularly successful. The outstanding feature of the Association's work in the community generally is the Sunday-afternoon mass meeting which this branch has promoted for the last fifteen years. Nationally and internationally known Negro and white speakers have been presented to audiences frequently numbering as many as eight hundred people. Addresses on the Negro problem, race relations, war and peace, economic, religious, and political subjects have been delivered in response to requests arising out of the need of the people. This branch has the largest boys' membership of any of the colored Y. M. C. A.'s. As is true in many of the other cities, the majority of the membership fees are paid by persons other than the boys themselves or their families.

The Indianapolis Y. M. C. A. was dedicated in 1913. Because of building faults, considerable

parts of the walls in rooms and halls have had to be torn out and replaced because of defects not noticed when the plaster was first put on. The plumbing (which was placed in walls and cement) has caused extraordinary expense because of water leaking through to the ceilings of the floors below. Several large cracks were noticed by the writer and smaller wall cracks were in evidence in twenty-five of the sixty-two dormitory rooms. Some of the toilets and wash-rooms need new plumbing. Windows need repairing, and the brick work needs tuck pointing. New equipment and new furnishings, especially rugs, chairs, desks, tables, draperies, and shades, are needed throughout the building. The lights, although bright enough, cast a great many shadows in the lobby and in the boys' department and should be adjusted to remedy this. A general renovation was in process at the time of the writer's visit, including cleaning and decorating of wall spaces and ceilings. It will not be very long before the present boilers and pumps in this building will have to be replaced by new ones.

It might be desirable for this branch (as well as practically all of the branches erected before 1925) to restudy the furnishings and decorations of their lobbies and other social rooms, and to work out a rearrangement of furniture to achieve effects such as those now found in the lobbies of the buildings in Harrisburg, Los Angeles, and Orange, New Jersey.

CHICAGO

Total population.....3,117,731
Negro population (7 per cent of total)..... 223,903
Increase: 1920-1930..... 282.2%
Increase: 1910-1930..... 430.3%

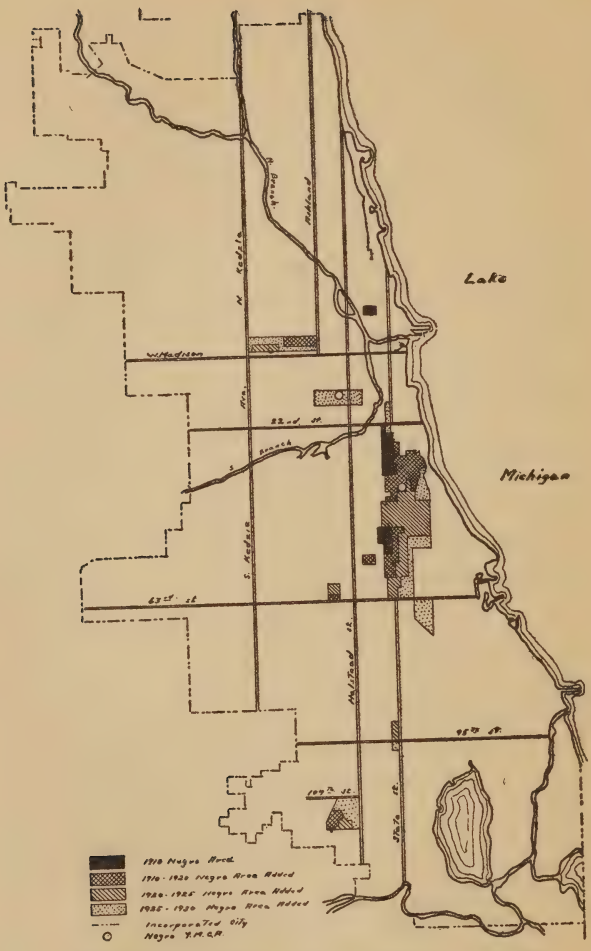
Foreign-born white population.....842,057
Increase: 1920-1930..... 4.7%

Mexican population.....19,362
Increase: 1920-1930.....1,500.0%

As early as 1853 Negroes lived in Chicago along Third Avenue between what are now known as Harrison and Polk Streets. A Negro church was erected on the ground upon which now stands the railroad station on Polk Street. This plot of ground, which was included in a city block, was owned by Abram T. Hall, whose grandson is at present a member of the managing board of the Y. M. C. A. As the city grew, the territory around the Negro district became populated with saloons, gambling houses, and places of prostitution. In order to escape these conditions many Negro families moved southward on State, Dearborn, and Federal Streets until, in 1893, they were living as far south as 39th Street, west of State Street, and had begun to penetrate the east side of State Street to Michigan Avenue. As the Negroes moved southward, the "red light district" followed as far south as 22nd Street—State to Federal Streets, and east to the west side of Wabash Avenue. Although committees of prominent Negroes besieged the differ-

ent mayors and councilmen in an effort to keep the houses of prostitution from opening—sometimes next door to property owned by self-respecting Negroes with their families—the city authorities continued to permit the area to grow as a segregated vice district. By 1900 the Negro population was spreading rapidly south and east between 12th and 31st Streets and Wentworth and Wabash Avenues; with settlements of colored people also establishing themselves (to the south) in the Woodlawn and (to the west) the Englewood districts. Between 1900 and 1920 the few Negro families living on the west side of the Chicago River, principally between Madison and Lake Streets and Halsted and Ashland Avenues, began to grow rapidly in numbers. The few Negroes living a short distance north of the Chicago River began to increase also about the same time.

It is very interesting to note the exodus of Negro families to the Woodlawn and Englewood districts —a distance of three miles south and four miles south-west from the areas in which most of the colored people were living in 1900. Between the Englewood district (63rd to 69th Street south, South Parkway on the west, and Cottage Grove Avenue on the east) and the heavily populated colored section north of 39th Street between State Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, the territory at that time was almost solidly white. This "jumping over" white areas by Negroes into areas not



EXPANSION OF NEGRO AREA IN CHICAGO, 1910-1930

thickly populated has occurred in several cities since 1900, indicating a desire for better housing conditions which could not be secured in adjacent territories because of boundary lines set by the white people living there.

The large increase in the Negro population of Chicago between 1910 and 1923 did not create any new colonies of Negroes but resulted in a very large expansion in the density of the districts in which Negroes were living. The definite expansion of Negroes between 31st and 39th Streets, east from Michigan Avenue, began in 1911, when a colored family moved into a house on Vernon Avenue just south of 31st Street. Up to then the entire street was white. The blocks between Michigan Avenue and Vernon Avenue, and from 31st to 35th Streets, filled up rapidly with colored families. Soon thereafter Negroes in large numbers then began to move into the area south of 39th Street between Michigan Avenue and Cottage Grove Avenue. In the spring of 1917, immediately after the influx of thousands of colored people from the South, the Negro population completed the occupation of the area between 39th and 47th Streets on Champlain, Evans and Langley Avenues, and (moving westward) taking in Forrestville and Vincennes Avenues, Grand Boulevard, and streets west to State—a territory of one square mile. Since 1917 the territory running south of 47th to 63rd Streets, between State and

South Parkway, and to 59th Street between South Parkway and Cottage Grove Avenue, has become almost solidly colored.

Blighted Areas

The section of Chicago containing the largest number of condemned dwellings can be roughly described as the area bounded on the north by North Avenue, on the east by State Street, on the south by 39th Street and on the west by Ashland Avenue—an area two miles wide and seven long. In this area live members of all the minority racial groups. In the territory densely populated by Negroes on the South Side, and in the area around Maxwell and Miller Streets (where live Negroes, Mexicans, and other racial groups) the poor condition of the property and the congestion due to the overcrowding of families in one, two, and three-room flats are found at their worst. In the territory between 39th Street and 51st Street from State Street to Cottage Grove Avenue, overcrowding and other bad housing features can be found in a considerable number of apartment buildings but not in the degree found north of 39th Street and west and north of the Chicago River. In the area between 43rd and 59th Streets—Michigan Avenue to Cottage Grove Avenue—are located many apartment buildings owned by colored people and maintained in excellent physical conditions. The Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments project,

erected in 1928 by Julius Rosenwald at a cost of $2,750,000, is in this area. Mr. Rosenwald financed the building to demonstrate the need and the value of modern apartments in this district. The development covers a city block, occupies six acres of ground, three of which are laid out in gardens and courts. There is a playground for children of the tenants. There is also a nursery school and a day nursery. The building contains 421 apartments, occupied by families of moderate means. At the present time it is 95 per cent rented. The territory bounded by 63rd Street and 69th Street, South Parkway and Cottage Grove Avenue, contains a large number of modern apartment buildings and bungalows owned or rented by colored people. The erection of most of the bungalows was financed by Negroes. West of Halsted Street, in the Woodlawn district, Negroes own a considerable number of apartment buildings and individual homes, most of which are in good physical condition. According to a study made by Charles Johnson in 1921, 45 per cent of the Chicago Negroes lived in the poorest type of dwelling.* It is now thought that the percentage has dropped to forty.

Y. M. C. A.

The Wabash Avenue department of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. is located in a neighborhood which is

* Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro in Chicago,* p. 186.

changing rapidly from one of apartment buildings to industrial and commercial businesses. Most of the membership now live more than a mile distant from the building and are not inclined to return for either residence or recreational purposes.

Since 1916 the program of activities has centered largely around industrial and boys' work. Classes in meat cutting, plumbing, steam fitting, auto mechanics, and singing (glee clubs) have been conducted for the benefit of men working in the meat-packing plants. Through the organization of efficiency clubs, with memberships totalling 1,200 stockyard workers, the superintendents of various industries, together with teachers and welfare workers, have met with these men at the Y. M. C. A. and have planned ways of improving both the efficiency of the worker and the working conditions in the industries. In the packing plants as well as in the foundries, the Pullman car shops, International Harvester, and other industries employing large numbers of Negroes, industrial baseball leagues have been promoted since 1921. The various locals of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, as well as the National Convention of that organization, have met regularly at the Wabash Avenue department since 1925. At the present time 60 women are being taught to operate power machines and are being employed as fast as the course is completed. The Chicago Chapter of the National Association of Colored Musicians,

the choral organizations under Professor J. Wesley Jones and James A. Mundy, the various intercollegiate clubs, the Cook County Physicians' Association, religious, educational, and Sunday-school-leader groups also use the Y. M. C. A. as headquarters for their meetings.

The physical-work program is at the present time almost entirely recreational. The boys' work program is conducted through club organizations, the largest of which is the "GRA-Y" organization, a group of boys without Y. M. C. A. membership.

This building was dedicated in 1913. It has maintained a repair-reserve fund as well as a building-depreciation fund since the building was erected. The condition of the physical structure, therefore, is better than that of other Y. M. C. A. buildings constructed prior to 1925. There is a considerable need for replacement of equipment and repair to furnishings, especially in the boys' department. In addition to this, 60 per cent of the window shades need replacing. Windows need calking. A refiltration system is needed. Walls in the swimming pool should be replastered. New rugs in offices and in the lobby are needed. New linoleum and draperies for the club rooms should be purchased. Renovation and refurnishing of 70 per cent of the dormitory rooms should go forward at once in order to make them attractive enough to increase the number of resident members.

Maxwell Street Department, Chicago

The purpose of the Y. M. C. A. of Chicago in establishing the Maxwell Street department was to render a service "for the people of the district, without regard to race, color, or creed." Activities for children occupy most of the time of the secretaries.

The building is located at Maxwell and Miller Streets, two blocks east of the center of Chicago's west-side Negro population, and serves an area of one and one-half square miles. The racial distribution of the district runs about as follows: Negroes, 10,000; Mexicans, 5,000; Jews, 3,000; Italians, 1,000; Dutch, 500. More than 80 per cent of the population are "on the relief agencies." Most of the Negroes in the district are unskilled. They work, when work is available, in the steel mills, construction groups, in a wide variety of small factories, and selling coal and ice. Women work in many of the same lines as men, in addition to doing domestic service in districts north and west.

The activities of the Maxwell Street department include children from six to sixteen years and adults up to twenty-four years of age. The program is promoted through clubs organized around groups with a common interest such as music, drama, physical work, and social activities. With the adults, music and athletics predominate as

interest centers. No membership fees are charged. The limitation of staff to two paid workers makes necessary a corps of volunteer workers who have been secured from the neighborhood and from schools and colleges. These volunteer workers consist of white and colored men and women.

The building was erected in 1910 and for twenty years was used as a free medical dispensary of the Michael Reese Hospital. In 1931 the property, together with another piece, was given by Mrs. Emanuel Mandel for service as a Y. M. C. A. branch. The building was remodeled and opened in January, 1932. At the present time it is in good physical condition.

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EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Total population.....58,338
Negro population (8 per cent of total)..... 4,938
Increase: 1920-1930.....207.2%
Increase: 1910-1930.....523.5%
Foreign-born population.....Figures not available

The trend of Negro population in Evanston is in a north-westerly direction from the Emerson Street branch of the Y. M. C. A. The largest area of Negro population is at the present time bounded on the north by Ayars Street, on the east by Benson Avenue, on the south by Clark and Church Streets, and on the west by the Sanitary District

Canal. The majority of colored people are employed as domestics.

The Y. M. C. A. is located near the Negro business street and within two blocks of the main street-car lines. The first unit of the building was erected in 1914; the second in 1929. Careful attention to general repair and painting has kept the building in good physical condition. A standard Y. M. C. A. program is conducted with boys. The work for men is, in the main, social and recreational.

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KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Total population.....357,741
Negro population (10.8 per cent of total).... 38,574
Increase: 1920-1930.....33.3%
Increase: 1910-1930.....63.6%
Foreign-born population.....24,278
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 5.3%

"Kansas City is one of the few American cities where housing conditions have assumed a phase where it will be necessary to ask legislative action looking toward a remedy. Dilapidated, tumbled-down shacks and underground damp basements constitute too many of the places in which people, especially Negroes, have to live."

The statement above was written as a part of a report of an investigating committee which studied housing conditions in Kansas City in 1900. Since that time, thirty-four years ago, the situation among

the low economic group of Negroes in Kansas City has improved very little. In most instances Negroes continue to live in well-defined neighborhoods and in some of the same shacks and basement flats described in 1900. Lack of proper housing legislation, or of disposition on the part of city officials to raze condemned dwellings if necessary, is part of the cause for the continuance of one of the worst housing situations in this country. The neighborhood of "good" houses is located in the general direction of Paseo Drive. A considerable number of Negroes live also on several good thoroughfares as well as on streets branching therefrom and, in the main, occupied by white people.

The Paseo department of the Kansas City Y. M. C. A. is located in the center of the heaviest-populated Negro district of the city: 10,000 colored people live within one square mile of the branch. Most of the Negro churches are in this district, as are also the Y. W. C. A. and the Urban League office. Vine and 18th Streets, one block away, constitute the main business thoroughfare of the district.

Major repairs to plumbing, to concrete floors, and to the heating system are badly needed. The dormitory rooms, gymnasium, men's lobby, boys' lobby, and cafeteria need painting and decorating. New rugs are needed throughout. New equipment and repairs to furniture are needed in the men's and boys' lobbies. In the dormitory there

is a great need for new bed linen, new shades, new draperies, and new mattresses.

The executive secretary, in addition to his other duties, promotes the religious work program of the department. A Sunday morning Bible-study group with an average attendance of 125 for over a period of five years is popular. An occasional exchange of visits between Bible-study classes of the white churches and of the Y. M. C. A. has contributed much toward interracial good will between the white and colored people of Kansas City. The physical and boys' work programs need strengthening by thorough, adequate programming and additional supervision. (This is also true in most of the cities.) The Paseo branch serves as a clearing house for a large number of community groups. It is to be hoped that a community-work program similar to that promoted by the white Y. M. C. A. will be established for the colored boys as soon as possible.

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Total population.....726,897
Negro population (12.9 per cent of total).... 93,580
Increase: 1920-1930..... 53.9%
Increase: 1910-1930.....112.8%
Foreign-born population.....80,386
Decrease: 1920-1930..... 21.9%

St. Louis is one of several cities in which the Negro population more than doubled between

1910 and 1930. This increase came from Texas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, with a relatively small number from the western part of the States in the lower South. During 1921-1930 Negroes worked in most of the industrial plants in the St. Louis area at different times. In the rolling mills they formed 40 per cent of the semi-skilled labor, with a smaller turnover than white men of the same classification. Eleven hundred colored people worked in the car shops of the various railroad companies (percentage not obtainable); 41 per cent of the workers in steel plants were colored, with 56 per cent of that number in the semi-skilled trades. Tobacco factories have employed a large number of Negroes. In the wood shops only 1 per cent of the workers were Negroes. In the shoe factories practically no Negroes were found at work. In the foundries 67 per cent of the unskilled labor was Negro. Large numbers of women found employment in laundries; a few in foundries; and very large numbers in domestic service. In the group with moderate incomes were found several hundred public-school teachers, a large number of city and federal employees; more than one hundred Negro physicians, and a smaller number of dentists, ministers, nurses, and social workers. A new modern and very well equipped municipal hospital will be opened in the near future.

There exists in St. Louis, as in all industrial

cities, a deplorably bad housing situation. And the Negro, as is usual, is in the worst of it. The area of bad housing has become so wide-spread that an application has been made for federal funds with which to undertake a large housing project for Negroes. Between 1925 and 1929 the trend in Negro population has been away from the blighted area and toward the west end of the city. Since 1929 the depression has compelled many of the people formerly living in the west end district to return to the section east of Grand Avenue in order to secure lower rents.

The Y. M. C. A. is located in the center of the section east of Grand Avenue and almost in the center of 40,000 Negroes, whose economic level is extremely low. It is estimated that more than 75 per cent of this group have been receiving help from relief agencies during the last three years. The main Negro business thoroughfare is within five blocks of the Y. M. C. A., within two blocks of trunk-line street car service, and within ten blocks of the out-of-town bus terminal station.

For a number of years the Pine Street department has been outstanding for its activities program. This is especially true in its industrial and boys' work programs. The cafeteria is considered one of the best in the country from the standpoint of quality of food and net income. A community-work program is carried on from a point within one block of one of the two high schools.

The building above and below the lobby floor needs repairs, especially to the plaster. The walls need cleaning. If the dark stains could be removed from the oak woodwork, the trimmings would show to better advantage. As in most of the colored buildings erected prior to 1925, no outlets for plumbing repairs were made. Breaking through walls and cement floors to repair leaks, etc., makes the cost of the building maintenance high. From an architectural point of view, as is true of other buildings, a better arrangement could have been made for counter space in the men's lobby, and in locating the men's club rooms and dressing rooms.

* * *

DENVER, COLORADO

Total population	272,977
Negro population (2.6 per cent of total)	7,204
Increase: 1920-1930	20.8%
Increase: 1910-1930	32.7%
Foreign-born white population	31,235
Decrease: 1920-1930	13.9%
Mexican population, 1920-1930	6,837
Increase: 1920-1930	334.0%

The percentage of Negroes to the total population of Denver has decreased progressively since 1870, when it was 3.76 per cent of the population, to 1930, when it stood at 2 per cent. The number of Negroes living in Denver, however, increased from 257 in 1870 to 7,204 in 1930. The rate of

decrease is due to a more rapid rate of increase among the white and Mexican people than among Negroes. Of the total Negro population in Colorado, 54 per cent is found in Denver.*

The population trend among Negroes in Denver has been toward what is known as the "Five Points" district, where at the present time 78 per cent of the Negroes live. Other districts where Negroes live in small numbers are known as Globeville, Barnum, and Harmon. The slum area is in the vicinity of Walnut Street and the Platte River. In this area Negroes live because of cheap rents. Negro families live also in the Colfax area, where "shanties" predominate, and where a large Mexican population lives. A row of houses called the "terraces" are known chiefly because "many of the rooms have no windows opening to the outside air."† These houses are occupied by Negro renters. The distribution of Negro families in what had been formerly a white neighborhood is now general in areas contiguous to the "Five Points" district. This penetration on the whole has brought no undesirable results. In some of these neighborhoods are to be found also Spanish, Mexican, and Jewish families.

Until 1930 there was a definite increase in Denver of Negro ownership of homes, many of them on very desirable streets. A list of real estate

* Reid, Ira DeA., *The Negro Population of Denver.*
† *Ibid.*

holdings compiled in 1930 showed that there were 811 Negroes in Denver holding 857 parcels of property with an estimated value of $3,731,000. Approximately 40 per cent of these holdings were free. With the exception of Los Angeles, Denver has a much better showing of non-incumbent real estate holdings by Negroes than have other cities. It is estimated, however, that this home ownership is confined to 10 per cent of the Negro population in Denver; 90 per cent remain renters.

Denver is the terminus of seven railroad systems. This has helped make it the largest manufacturing and commercial center between Kansas City and San Francisco. The meat-packing industry is the most important, measured by the value of its products. Other industries include iron and steel foundries, cement plants, and a large number of miscellaneous businesses.

The bulk of Negro labor in Denver is unskilled. During the last decade 5,000 Mexicans have gone to Denver from the sugar-beet fields and truck farms of Colorado, Texas, and California. It has been the Mexican migration to Denver and other western cities, and the employment of them in steady jobs instead of Negroes, that has increased the number of unemployed colored men by at least 25 per cent. In many instances the jobs given the Mexicans are better, especially from the standpoint of health, than those in which Negroes find employment. Of the 2,865 semi-skilled and unskilled

Negro male workers employed full-time in 1930, 35 per cent of them were receiving aid from the relief agencies of Denver in 1933. The tenth of the Negro population listed as home owners consists in the main of professional and business classes, both of which have suffered large decreases in income due to the economic insecurity of the unskilled labor group.

The Glenarm branch of the Y. M. C. A. is located at the center of the area of largest Negro population, within one block of the principal colored business street and trunk-line transportation. The territory surrounding the Y. M. C. A. is one of good and bad dwellings. Within a few years, after the depression, it is probable that many families of moderate incomes will move from the immediate vicinity of the Y. M. C. A., continuing the penetration of better residential neighborhoods begun before 1930.

The activities program of the Glenarm branch at the present time is mainly boys' work and physical work, with emphasis on the recreational side. The limited secretarial staff cannot do more. Educational classes here, as in many of the other Y. M. C. A.'s, are conducted by instructors working under the CWES allotments.

The physical condition of the building and equipment is fairly good. The building is very clean considering the scarcity of janitors and maids.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Total population.....260,000
Negro population (14.1 per cent of total).... 38,742
Increase: 1920-1930..... 61.3%
Increase: 1910-1930.....165.6%
Foreign-born population..... 6,000

The Negro population in Dallas is increasing rapidly, most of the newcomers coming from rural districts within a hundred and fifty miles of the city. The shift of population is slow because of a large percentage of Negro property owners. The Y. M. C. A. is located in a community of good homes and near the center of 12,000 colored people. The largest section of bad housing, however, is only one-half mile from the building. Within two blocks of the Y. M. C. A. is the main business street in the colored district. Two trunk-line street cars and one bus line run within two blocks of the building.

The unskilled colored people find work as porters, janitors, hotel employees, and domestic servants. School teachers, physicians, lawyers, and a few business men make up the group of moderate incomes.

The Moorland branch was dedicated in 1930. It is a well-designed and durably-built structure. Renovation of the lower floors was needed at the time the writer visited Dallas. The employed staff is small and inexperienced, making an ade-

quate activities program impossible at the present time.

❖ ❖ ❖

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Total population.....1,073,358
Negro population (3.6 per cent of total).... 38,894
Increase: 1920-1930.....291.2%
Increase: 1910-1930.....396.3%
Foreign-born white population.....181,848
Increase: 1920-1930..... 98.3%
Mexican population.....97,116
Increase: 1920-1930..... 44.1%
Japanese population.....21,081
Increase: 1920-1930..... 81.4%

According to the United States census, the population of Negroes, Japanese, and Mexicans in Los Angeles has doubled since 1920. In a study made by J. Max Bond it was revealed that Los Angeles was originally colonized in 1781 by an importation of Spaniards, Indians, half-breeds, Negroes, and mulattoes from Mexico. Among the adults, there were seven mulattoes and two Negroes. Of the twenty-two children, seven were Negroes and nine had a mixture of Negro, Indian, and mulatto blood. By 1850, the Negro element of the original population of Los Angeles had completely disappeared. The census for 1850 lists twelve Negroes, who presumably had been brought to Los Angeles from the South and were, therefore, not related to the members of the 1781

28TH STREET BRANCH
Los Angeles, Cal.

OAKWOOD BRANCH
Orange, N. J.

group. These twelve Negroes formed the basis for the present Negro population.*

The Mexicans in Los Angeles are composed of the descendants of the original settlers of California; the refugees, representing the cultural classes of pre-Revolution days in Mexico; and the laborers, who constitute the large majority of the Mexican population.

According to the 1930 annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, the first Japanese migration to this country occurred between 1860 and 1870 when 186 were accounted for. The 1880 census showed 149, or a decrease of thirty-seven. By 1890 the total number of Japanese in the United States increased to 20,270; by 1900 to 25,942; by 1910 to 72,157; by 1920 to 111,010; and by 1930 to 138,834.

The Japanese came to the United States just as the Negro migrated north and the Mexican north and west in order to better their economic condition. The Japanese immigration from Japan consisted largely of persons from an overcrowded country with an increasing birth rate, to a country of high standards of living, a comparatively low birth rate, and a fertility of soil not generally found in Japan. In addition to what has been said concerning the soil in America, it should be noted that

* Bond, J. Max, "Selected Facts Dealing with Minority Groups in the City of Los Angeles," an unpublished thesis, University of Southern California.

the land secured by the Japanese in and about Los Angeles was considered to be unfit for cultivation, being either swampy and alkaline or arid. The Japanese "washed" the soil free from alkali and drained the swamps. Where the land was arid, they irrigated it.* According to Mears,† about 20 per cent of the Japanese immigration to the United States came from Japan; 80 per cent, mostly of the peasant class, came from Hawaii, where they had worked on sugar plantations. Practically all of this latter class went directly to the agricultural sections of California for work as field hands. According to Bond, 68 per cent of the Japanese in the United States live in California; 95 per cent of the California Japanese came from the peasant class and 5 per cent from the urban or merchant class.

The employment of most of the Japanese in truck gardening (on locations distributed usually just beyond the limits of coast cities) makes it appear as if they were larger in numbers than if they were concentrated in a few city blocks as are the Negroes and Filipinos in Los Angeles, and the Filipinos and Chinese in San Francisco.

The increase in the Negro, Japanese, and Mexican population has caused these groups to penetrate neighborhoods in which white American peo-

* Bond, J. Max, "Selected Facts Dealing with Minority Groups in the City of Los Angeles," an unpublished thesis, University of Southern California.

† Mears, E. G., *Resident Orientals of the American Pacific Coast,* p. 16.

ple live. Before 1920, the Negroes began to move south on Central Avenue for business concerns and on both sides of the Avenue from 28th to 53rd Streets as a residential area. The opening up of this area by Negroes was followed by a gradual increase of Mexicans and Japanese who sought better housing facilities, especially the Mexicans. Both Mexicans and Japanese are now living in large numbers in this area, sometimes next door and sometimes occupying duplex dwellings with colored families. The area is one of good, and occasionally excellent, dwellings. There are three other areas in the city where Japanese and Mexicans live in the same blocks with whites and Negroes. There is also one area of Japanese and three larger areas in which Mexicans live to themselves, with a few Filipino families near by. There is a Japanese business district and one street on which most of the Filipino restaurants, barber shops, and pool rooms are located. The Chinese business section is confined to a short two blocks near the railroad tracks in the down-town district. Within the last two years Japanese grocers, druggists, and haberdashers have begun to penetrate the areas in which Japanese, Mexicans, and Negroes live. The statement is made that Japanese located at some distance from the Japanese business districts choose to patronize stores nearer their homes and operated by whites. It is also true that the Japanese in the aggregate, especially

the second generation, have increased in size; hence it is no longer necessary for them to go to the Japanese business district in order to find clothes small enough for them. The second-generation Japanese show even a greater increase in stature than do their parents who were born in Japan but reared in America.

It was brought out in the study made by Bond that, on the whole, the Negroes in Los Angeles have remained unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. The Japanese, on the contrary, have moved forward: they control the vegetable market, the nursery market, and the gardening and truck-farming enterprises. The Negroes control very few business enterprises except their own drug stores, life insurance companies, printing establishments, newspapers, undertaking establishments, gas stations, and barber shops: a total of 33 businesses, which employ 275 Negroes. In the same area in which these enterprises are located there are eighty-five business concerns controlled and operated by white people. Eighty-five per cent of the trade in these stores is colored. Of the 85 business houses, 21 of them employ a total of 44 Negroes. Bond states that one of these white firms catering largely to Negro trade reported an income of $1,000,000 for 1930.

The 28th Street branch of the Y. M. C. A. is located in the center of the district of heaviest Negro population. It is an area of good homes,

schools, and several excellent churches. It is one block from the principal Negro business street, on which runs one of the main street car lines of the city.

The membership of the Y. M. C. A. includes a considerable number of Japanese and Mexican boys who work and play in the best of spirit with the Negro boys. The community programs of the Association are attended by the parents of the Japanese and Mexican children. Interracial goodwill and fellowship can be seen at its best in the coming together of the races at one of these functions.

The limited staff of secretaries makes it impossible to do much more in promoting activities than is being done; unless it is in an older boys' work program, where volunteer help could be encouraged to supervise additional activities, especially community projects.

The building was dedicated in 1926. Although it is one of the most attractive Y. M. C. A. buildings in the country, yet architecturally it could have been arranged to allow more space for the growth in membership, especially in the boys' section. The equipment in both the men's and boys' lobbies needs renovating and in a few cases replacement. The wall spaces in the dormitory and wash-rooms were being repainted at the time of the writer's visit. Good housekeeping keeps the building clean and wholesome. Locker rooms are

overcrowded when normal gymnasium classes are in session. The color schemes in the men's lobby and swimming pool are attractively blended; giving the same oriental effect as in the building in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

II

THE PUBLIC SPEAKS

A: Concerning the Managing Body

The following questions concerning the managing body of the "Rosenwald" Associations have been for some time in the minds of a number of the contributors to Y. M. C. A. budgets.

In order to get answers which would represent a number of points of view, the writer interviewed 125 people throughout the country, including general secretaries of white Y. M. C. A.'s, members of committees of management of the colored branches, staff workers, Y. M. C. A. members without official connections, social workers, pastors of churches, secretaries of community centers, and heads of community chests. All of the answers were analyzed to get the number of affirmative or negative replies, but only types of answers which showed differences in opinion have been set down in this study. It will be interesting to note that in general the affirmative reply was given to all of the questions, except No. 2 and No. 7.

Question 1:

Does the managing body (Board of Directors or Committee of Management) consist of a reason-

ably large body of able men who are attentive to their duties?

ANSWERS:

Able—but the local Y. M. C. A. is dominated by two or three individuals whose ideas alone control procedure of management and staff. Board is self-perpetuating.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, as to ability. Fairly attentive. The average age of Board members is too high for much active work.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, as to ability, but too often do not use talent for developing Y. M. C. A. program. Too great a tendency to self-perpetuation. There is a need for infusion of "new blood" from time to time.

❖ ❖ ❖

Fairly able—not very attentive to duties. Changes in membership, which rarely occur except through death, are badly needed.

❖ ❖ ❖

In local "Y" a few are able. Most of them are too old for active service.

❖ ❖ ❖

Able but not democratic. Professional classes—ministers, physicians, and lawyers—form too large a percentage on most Y. M. C. A. Boards. More representation from business and from the skilled and unskilled classes is very much needed, especially in industrial centers.

❖ ❖ ❖

Committee of Management does not know how im-

portant they could make the work if they were able to support it better.

* * *

Committee of Management is composed of best citizens of the city.

* * *

Board members uncertain as to dependability and responsibility.

* * *

Men of Board of good character. They have a chance to work out a program for themselves.

* * *

Most of the members of the Committee of Management do not realize the implication and value of the tools they are working with in this modern Y. M. C. A. building.

* * *

Majority of men on Committee of Management are able men. One of its members will be elected to the Board of Directors of the city-wide Association this week.

* * *

Prestige of Board members above average.

* * *

Greatest problem in the work is development of leadership.

* * *

Colored work needs more trained leadership—both professional and laymen.

* * *

Leadership in community not quite so strong as it should be for better support in membership.

SUMMARY:

The consensus seems to be that the men on the Boards are able but are not so attentive to the Y. M. C. A. nor so conscious of responsibility to the organization as they should be. These are the two outstanding findings. Other findings are: (1) that the Boards tend to be self-perpetuating; (2) that they are undemocratic; and (3) that in some instances the members are too old to be of active service.

QUESTION 2:

Is the employed personnel competent and alert?

ANSWERS:

Local executive secretary highly so; the rest of the staff about average.

* * *

Yes, but there is a lack of farsightedness and aggressiveness necessary in this type of social work.

* * *

Fairly so. Method by which local secretaries are chosen is faulty. In most cases choices have been made, not from a study of the field, but from some local accident. Recruiting process for trained personnel starts too late. Recruiting should begin in the high schools, preferably through Hi-Y groups. Local secretaries should be concerned enough to get hold of potential leaders, nurture them through college, and begin a sifting-out process when time for professional training has arrived.

Yes, on the whole; there are, however, considerable extremes.

* * *

Yes, but most secretaries in colored Y. M. C. A.'s have more duties than they can perform capably.

* * *

Yes, but the employed personnel would do well to study the needs of the community and build the "Y" program around those needs, rather than being so determined to have their own views prevail when those views do not include community needs particularly.

* * *

Personnel competent but not alert.

* * *

Yes, but inadequate in number.

* * *

Few competent—many of them are alert.

* * *

Personnel is competent. Local executives submerge themselves in order to have lay officials extend themselves as representatives of the Y. M. C. A. More secretaries needed with Y. M. C. A. college training or its equivalent through Y. M. C. A. experience.

* * *

To do real character-building in big Y. M. C. A. buildings, there should be more trained men.

* * *

Activities secretary is a good man.

* * *

Executive secretary is competent.

* * *

Staff is insufficient.

Secretaries must remember their fundamental commitments. Christian leadership and religious content must be basic in every secretary's activities.

* * *

Work of the branch will be better when present executive secretary, who is over sixty years old, is retired on pension.

SUMMARY:

The opinion seems to exist among those who answered this question that, whereas many of the workers are excellently fitted for the positions, just as many more are not so well adapted either by ability or by disposition to the work.

Answer Number 3 is indeed significant. It refers to the method of selecting workers for the Y. M. C. A. and suggests a promising method of securing workers.

QUESTION 3:

Are financial practices and policies sound?

ANSWERS:

Policies are sound. Improvements are needed in practices, especially accuracy of details and promptness in making reports to headquarters.

* * *

Yes, policies and business practices are sound. They are controlled by the general office of the Y. M. C. A.'s, with supervision in the main rigidly enforced.

* * *

Annual deficits in colored Y. M. C. A. in this city

have been due to the depression. It has been impossible to keep the expenses below the very limited income. Any further decrease in income will compel us to close this building.

* * *

Financial policies have to be sound because controlled by general Y. M. C. A. in Montclair. Don't know what would happen if the control were not there.

* * *

Negroes support work well both as to membership and subscriptions.

* * *

Contributors over-enthusiastic in pledging more than they can give, and over-pessimistic in explaining why they do not meet payments.

* * *

Financial support in subscriptions poor.

* * *

Marked advance made by colored people in attitude favorable to a larger share in the responsibility of financial support of the Y. M. C. A.

* * *

Policies of program and finance are sound.

* * *

Work too good to let control of expense kill the work.

SUMMARY:

The majority of those who answered this question indicated that for the most part the Y. M. C. A. has sound policies. Some suggest that improvements could be made. The depression, they

state, has, in several instances, made it impossible for the local organization to operate with an adequate budget. This has made some of the practices seem unsound from a financial point of view.

QUESTION 4:

Are building and premises well maintained?

ANSWERS:

Local "Y" could be kept much cleaner than it is even with the present under-manned janitor and maid service.

* * *

The lobby of the boys' department and gymnasium of local "Y" have been renovated twice in seven years. Dormitory rooms and halls have not been calcimined or painted since the building was opened.

* * *

Janitor service in local "Y" incompetent. There are much more satisfactorily-trained men now out of work, who would be willing to do a better job for less money.

* * *

Building kept clean, but repairs needed for which there is no money. (Comment made four times.)

* * *

Improvements could be made, but condition is excusable because of lack of funds for upkeep.

* * *

Rearrangement of janitor and maid service in local "Y" could prevent some of the uncleanliness now prevalent.

Well pleased with the upkeep and activities of the branch. The only place Negroes have to go for recreation.

* * *

Housekeeping not so good as in white buildings.

SUMMARY:

The answer appearing most frequently is that buildings are kept clean but repairs are needed for which there is no money. In some instances it is intimated that the help is incompetent—that much more efficient help could be secured to do the work.

QUESTION 5:

Is a program being conducted which is rich, varied, and suited to the interests and needs of the community?

ANSWERS:

I think so.

* * *

Yes, as far as money permits.

* * *

Fairly so—but I disagree with the wisdom of raising money for a Christian institution by giving dances.

* * *

Program rich in content, but not enough help to make it varied.

* * *

Much of the difficulty of program making in colored branches has been due to the stage of evolution

of the movement among colored people generally; and lack of understanding among colored ministers and educators in not thinking of the movement as an ally of the church or as a helper in the field of education. To a degree, this has kept the colored Y. M. C. A. within a narrow channel in its religious and educational programs.

* * *

The program of the Y. M. C. A. could be made richer and more varied if too much time were not consumed by secretaries "running down" membership and subscription pledges. The noise of the machinery operating most Y. M. C. A.'s drowns out the voice of the spirit of the movement.

* * *

Growth of municipal social consciousness and erection of community buildings may affect the Y. M. C. A.

* * *

We have fooled ourselves in the real character-building qualities of the big Y. M. C. A. buildings.

* * *

Character is built by participation in the normal activities of life rather than by artificial indices.

* * *

Lack of leadership in building may change type of "Y" program.

* * *

Boys must be given positive things to do. The artificialities in connection with Y. M. C. A. activities, such as cigarette smoking by boys in the building, are allowed at the expense of the deeper things in programs, which would gradually take away the boys' interest in smoking.

More club room space needed.

❖ ❖ ❖

Those things that come in healthy competition, such as loyalty to teams and good sportsmanship, etc., should be cultivated in boy life.

❖ ❖ ❖

We must define again the program of the entire Y. M. C. A., and readjust the programs to the needs of the people in the light of changing conditions. For instance, some white Association leaders have recognized that there has come a need for a change in the institutional emphasis of the Y. M. C. A. The need for this change in the white Y. M. C. A. has grown so rapidly that it is now a question as to how long they can further count on strictly institutional emphasis in holding their membership.

Just the opposite is true concerning the Negro work. Usually the purely institutional emphasis (gym, natatorium, social rooms) constitutes the attraction for men and boys joining because very often the Y. M. C. A. is the only place where colored people can have access to such privileges. On the other hand, the physical-department activities in colored Y. M. C. A.'s have not continued to receive the patronage that the investment warranted. The reason for this is due to two things:

First, Negroes need to be educated in the value of health. We do not realize enough the importance of physical exercise in the making of strong bodies.

Second, the Associations themselves have not made a careful enough study of the normal physical needs of the colored people to adapt the program to meet their needs. They have been slavish in the following of standard "Y" programs of white Y. M. C. A.'s.

SUMMARY:

The majority of answers indicate that the Y. M. C. A. does not have a program which meets adequately the interests and needs of the community. In some instances this is due to lack of funds; in others, to the diversity of activities which must be undertaken by the staff, including the soliciting of memberships. Moreover, it is intimated that in some cases the prejudices and biases of community leaders, especially of ministers and educators, tend to curtail the program of the organization.

QUESTION 6:

Has the Negro work succeeded in establishing wholesome and satisfactory relations with other Negro enterprises and with numerous white enterprises, especially the Y. M. C. A.?

ANSWERS:

Yes, we work harmoniously with other Negro agencies in this city. Our relationship with the white Y. M. C. A.'s accepted but not approved.

* * *

Satisfactory with the white Y. M. C. A., especially in athletics and interracial conferences. Unsatisfactory with other Negro agencies.

* * *

Satisfactory with Negro agencies, not with white Y. M. C. A.—no interracial activities.

* * *

Most clubs (Hi-Y's, church, and neighborhood)

have no sense of relations to the Y. M. C. A. Most boys and men think of the Y. M. C. A. in terms of fees, and thereby spoil the real chance for character building.

* * *

Fairly good coöperation on part of churches, but it is to be hoped that a larger coöperation will be given in matter of using "Y" as center for young church people's activity.

* * *

Interracial good-will promoted by outstanding white business men meeting leading colored men at the central department.

SUMMARY:

The majority of answers indicate that there exist amicable relationships with other Negro enterprises. Of white enterprises other than the Y. M. C. A., little mention is made. Only one answer is given and this is affirmative. Most of the contacts with the white "Y" are in the field of athletics. Several indicated that interracial work, namely conferences, formed the basis of interracial contacts. On the whole, the answers were of a nature that made classification difficult.

QUESTION 7:

Has the Negro work developed a philosophy for itself which is both adequate and workable?

ANSWERS:

Not sure. Differences of opinion prevail, ranging

from conservative to extreme radical, on pretty nearly every question of race relationship, particularly in the field of economic and social work.

* * *

The Y. M. C. A.'s have not worked out a philosophy, so far as I can see, in their specialized fields. Many of them are in the position of the blacksmith who tries to advise the physician as to medical diagnosis.

* * *

No, there is no adequate Negro philosophy anywhere. The Y. M. C. A. has been effective to a certain degree in the field in which it operates. In my opinion, the entire Y. M. C. A. Movement should be restudied in the light of present-day conditions to learn whether or not it should continue in the specialized field of men and boys, or adapt itself to some other kind of program. I cannot see how the present program can continue to be financed as it is now functioning. The local colored "Y" is running very much ahead of our white "Y" in social planning, being used as much as a community center as a Y. M. C. A.

* * *

If "Y" secretaries were given an opportunity to travel and study, and received enough salary to surround themselves with professional libraries, eventually a philosophy could be developed by them—not only as to program but as to a better philosophy in the development of interracial good-will.

* * *

We do not distinguish between a philosophy for colored work and for Y. M. C. A. work as a whole. It does happen, however, that white groups and Negro groups approach their work differently and use differ-

ent methods—a principle which is encouraged and is usually beneficial.

❖ ❖ ❖

Undoubtedly empirical principles and privileges have been evolved which apply specifically to local problems. I should regard them as adequate to present difficulties.

❖ ❖ ❖

It is trying to find its way like all other religious work.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, more and more as the white Y. M. C. A.'s invite intramural athletics, interracial conferences, mixed boys' camps, mixed racial groups in dormitories, both colored and white Y. M. C. A.'s will come to realize the un-Christian attitude and unnecessary expense of maintaining two separate institutions.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, but philosophies have to change if the Y. M. C. A. is to meet immediate needs.

❖ ❖ ❖

Colored people are over-optimistic—visionary—do not follow through far enough to establish confidence.

❖ ❖ ❖

Many white men and women of this city wish for relationships with many of the colored people as men and women and not as Negroes. This sort of thing is difficult to accomplish because the Negroes are very prone to get together and argue over the evils of race prejudice. There is a more fundamental way out, I think—perhaps a much slower way out—and that is for the Negro to build up a culture, not only with reference to white civilization, but a culture fundamentally built up around the contribution his own

race makes to the art of life. In this way he will be able to contribute a very definite share to the common life of the community, rather than take away from the community much more than he is giving in that respect.

They should use this building to hold forums and discussions dealing with all the problems of the city —politics, adult education, etc.—rather than emphasizing the difficulties the race is having in making its way.

* * *

Lack of cohesion among Negroes.

SUMMARY:

The next to the last answer is especially significant. Those who answered these questions seemed to be of the opinion that the colored Y. M. C. A. had not developed a philosophy for itself but had followed the general policy of all Y. M. C. A. work.

B: CONCERNING THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

The writer during his experience as a Y. M. C. A. secretary carried on as part of his program activities the industrial work of the Association. During that time the series of questions listed below came up frequently in conferences with both colored and white workers and employers in the packing plants, steel mills, and foundries in the Chicago area. In order to determine how prevalent these questions were in the minds of indus-

trial workers and others, the questions were listed and given to 105 persons, in the main members of committees of management and secretaries of the Y. M. C. A., industrial workers, and various types in the membership, throughout the country to answer.

In attempting to analyze the answers the writer has included only those giving different points of view, with statements confirming them.

Question 1:

It has been stated that the white class of unskilled labor comparable to the unskilled Negro labor group (which includes so large a majority of colored workers) is not expected to support institutions such as the Y. M. C. A. If this assertion is correct, is it fair to assume that the Negro is not able, even under normal conditions, adequately to support the Y. M. C. A.?

YES

The Negro under normal conditions should be able to support the Y. M. C. A., but due to his many affiliations—church, lodges, etc.—and his low income, the masses of Negroes would not be able to contribute enough to support such an institution.

❖ ❖ ❖

Negroes are not able to give adequate financial support to a majority of the Y. M. C. A.'s.

NO

I do not believe that Negroes—including the unskilled group—are not able adequately to support our Y. M. C. A.'s. So far, in my opinion, proper efforts have not been made to interest the Negro worker in the Y. M. C. A.

❖ ❖ ❖

There are enough Negroes generally in most of the cities to support the Y. M. C. A. irrespective of the support of

YES

If comparisons were made, however, between the amount given by white and colored people who are in the same bracket economically, I feel sure the results would show that in the majority of cities, we do our part.

❖ ❖ ❖

In the main, yes, but the programs should be made to appeal to all classes in such a way that in time the Y. M. C. A. would be given the support the Negro church has today.

❖ ❖ ❖

With the large number of bills the average Negro worker has to meet, due in a measure to high-powered salesmanship of "installment plan houses," and sickness and death, he is apt to be both unwilling and unable to give to the support of the Y. M. C. A. Money should be secured, however, to carry the Y. M. C. A. program to men in industries.

❖ ❖ ❖

In my opinion the Negro worker, even under normal conditions, will not give much support to the Y. M. C. A. program as it is set up at present. Most of them will not use the gymnasium or the swimming pool. They will use the club rooms—many of them the dormitory—and will join the baseball leagues if the

NO

the unskilled groups. When colored Y. M. C. A. buildings were first opened, membership in them carried along with it social prestige, not unlike membership in secret-order societies of forty years ago, and college fraternities of more recent date. The lack of appeal in the program for the young men, and the rigidity of its rules against smoking, dancing and card playing in Y. M. C. A. buildings, have gradually made the institution primarily suited to old men and boys. The present changed emphasis in Y. M. C. A. programs, covering dancing, etc., will undoubtedly regain a large number of men in the age bracket it was originally built to serve.

❖ ❖ ❖

If it is assumed that the Y. M. C. A. is to serve the lowest economic group of Negroes, they should not be expected to support the Y. M. C. A. financially any more than do similar low economic groups among white people who attend community centers supported by community chest funds.

❖ ❖ ❖

In our local situation, the professional and business classes among Negroes give admirably to the support of the Y. M. C. A. More would give if the

YES

proper approach is made by Y. M. C. A. secretaries. In our city the largest part of senior members are from industries.

NO

basis of appeal were more intelligently made.

* * *

The unskilled Negro worker is intellectually and financially able, under normal economic conditions, to appreciate and support the Y. M. C. A. He must be reached, however, by a program that is effective.

* * *

In this city unskilled workers live near the industries which are located more than three miles away from the Y. M. C. A. We should, however, develop an extension program in that district. I believe we should receive some financial support, but not enough to pay the cost of carrying the extension work to them.

Comments on Question 1:

Several significant factors stand out in the "No" and "Yes" answers that are presented above. We note that five persons answered, "Yes." They believed that the Negro was unable to support the "Y"; that is, the unskilled worker. We note, however, that on close examination one of these answers seemed to be without weight; hence we considered it to be of no great significance.

Of equal interest are the answers of those who believe that the Negro is able to support the Y. M. C. A. program. Their answers seem to indicate

that they are not so convinced as their statements would lead one to believe. We find that they say that the Negro would support the "Y" if certain things were done. Three out of five indicated that the program needed to be carried to these groups. The other two answers expressed the same opinion except that "an intelligent appeal must be made." We called several answers negative because it was difficult to give them proper weight, since they were so non-committal.

Two new lines of thought have been suggested by these answers:

First—If the actual number of Negroes (both male and female) who are gainfully employed in many of the cities in which Y. M. C. A. buildings are located could be ascertained, and if some estimate of the incomes could be made, this would provide a further index to the economic status of this group. It should be remembered that many women among the Negro race are gainfully employed and that the income, in normal times, from the efforts of two bread-winners in the home might tend to raise the income of some Negro families above the average white family where the women remain in the home.

Second—These answers, both affirmative and negative, seem to indicate that attitudes exist calling for a much-needed change in the program of the Y. M. C. A. The desires for such a change are in keeping with modern educational thought, for

the opinion among educators now prevails that programs must be carried into the community, and function side by side with communal life and primary group relationships—home and other face-to-face relationships.

Question 2:

It has been stated that men in industry do not join the Y. M. C. A. because they regard it as a "white collar" affair. If this opinion is general among industrial groups, what can be done to induce the industrial workers to become members and to participate in programs of the Y. M. C. A.?

YES

It is the belief of many industrial workers in this city that the Y. M. C. A.'s program is for the "white collar" class. So far as I know, nothing has been done by the Y. M. C. A. to change this belief.

* * *

The "white collar" criticism is prevalent in this city. The organization of educational classes, singing clubs, and baseball leagues (conducted not only in the Y. M. C. A. building, but also in outlying districts), would do much to correct this opinion. This cannot be done, however, without additional secretarial help or the organization of a large corps of volunteer workers. It

NO

It is not true among colored men. The needs of the industrial worker should be studied and a program fashioned to meet those needs. His present needs are educational and social. He feels that he spends enough physical energy in his daily work. He looks to his church to guide him in his religious life.

* * *

Many of our contributors believe that the Y. M. C. A. should be primarily for underprivileged men and boys. They give for that reason and are not otherwise interested.

* * *

I think you will find a cross-

YES

is my understanding that in some cities, since the depression set in, volunteer workers are now carrying a large share of program activities heretofore promoted by a paid secretariat.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, I know of this criticism, but it is very difficult to integrate groups socially which are on different economic and intellectual levels. In an experience of ten years, I have found but few industrial Y. M. C. A. members who have entered into Y. M. C. A. activities other than those promoted for their own industrial group. They come and go in their own groups—very seldom do they linger in the lobby, or mingle with other members in a purely social way.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, the present Y. M. C. A. program is undoubtedly built around the "white collar" man. In our city, where there are no industries, the program should be carried to underprivileged boys and men in outlying districts. The Y. M. C. A. is locally in the center of good homes and families of moderate income. The "Y" program does not extend beyond the limits of the territory in which these homes are located.

NO

section of Negro life in all Y. M. C. A.'s. There is a tendency, however, to pay too little attention to industrial groups.

❖ ❖ ❖

In our city only a small percentage of industrial workers feel that the Y. M. C. A. is a "white collar" institution. At least 80 per cent of them have an open mind on the subject, and would be willing, in normal times, to become members of the Y. M. C. A. if the right kind of appeal were made to solicit their interest. A working men's forum to discuss labor problems would be especially attractive to them.

Comment on Question 2:

Those who answered, "Yes, the Y. M. C. A. is considered as a 'white collar affair,' " also gave their belief as to how such a criticism might be overcome.

Answer 3 in the first column is of interest. The person intimates that the great difficulty is in the integration of people on a different intellectual and a different cultural plane. Although this answer is based on what the writer believes to be an unscientific assumption, he nevertheless admits that such statements must be verified and investigated before we can provide a well-rounded program for Negroes. We must discover the different culture levels of those whom we desire to reach. It is not enough to assume that there are groups who need special programs; we must discover the needs and the interests of our people on the basis of an understanding of their background, economic status, etc.

Other answers show that the only things that could change the attitude of the unskilled toward the Y. M. C. A. would be to change the program.

With the income of the "Y" cut almost to the vanishing point in many cities, and with an ever-increasing demand for an extension of the program beyond the environs of the building, one wonders if some attention should not be given to

the extent that the building, as a program feature, might not be eliminated.

Question 3:

Is the Y. M. C. A. adapted to the needs of the majority of the men it is endeavoring to serve socially, physically, and industrially?

YES

There is evidence of late that the Y. M. C. A. is endeavoring to adapt its program to serve the majority of Negro men and boys.

❖ ❖ ❖

I think the Y. M. C. A., as a movement, is tending more and more to shift its program to meet the social and recreational needs of the group it serves. Formerly its emphasis was on the religious and physical phases of the work. In a few cities it has developed adequate industrial programs.

❖ ❖ ❖

A good many more men would be attracted by the present Y. M. C. A. programs if the buildings in most of the large cities were made more attractive. Broken-down equipment, discolored ceilings and walls, and understaffed and underpaid personnel cannot produce the best results, even at a time when opportunity for service is greatest. Finan-

NO

I do not believe the change in the recreational and social programs in many Y. M. C. A.'s has come as a result of a need of most of its members. Standard gymnasium programs, calisthenics and other types of corrective exercises, are needed but probably not wanted by many men and boys. The basket-ball hysteria now sweeping both white and colored Y. M. C. A.'s has been used by many physical directors as the easiest way out of a dilemma. Card playing and dancing in the Y. M. C. A. buildings are indulged in by but a relatively few of its younger members, and are used primarily as an expression of a new social freedom. The number of dances and card parties in our own Y. M. C. A. has decreased rapidly during the past six months.

❖ ❖ ❖

No, colored Y. M. C. A. buildings, especially those built prior to 1925, will have to be

YES

cial campaigns for rehabilitation of Y. M. C. A. buildings should be organized as soon as possible.

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, the social, physical and religious programs of our Y. M. C. A. are adapted to the majority of men and boys served.

❖ ❖ ❖

The program should be adapted to the needs of industrial men, whom it is not at present serving in a big way.

❖ ❖ ❖

The Y. M. C. A. is adapted in equipment and physical features, but not in program.

❖ ❖ ❖

In view of the crowds of people who come to the Y. M. C. A. every night, I should say that our program is meeting a great need. The number of Y. M. C. A. members in these groups is very small, however.

NO

changed to meet adequately the needs of the groups they should serve. There is too much gymnasium and swimming-pool space, too much lobby space, and not enough space is given to club-room activities. In several cities, small groups of from twelve to twenty persons have to await their turn to occupy club rooms which have already been in use continuously that day. Programs adapted to small groups should be emphasized rather than too many programs covering mass movements in gymnasia and assembly halls, where participation is by the few and at the expense of the many.

Comment on Question 3:

In viewing these answers one gets the idea that, for the most part, those who wrote these answers sense that something is wrong with the building itself. The question here to be considered is what part do the building and its facilities play in adapting the program to the needs of the members. *The writer is of the opinion that a study of the Y. M.*

C. A. program in regard to the part that gymnasia and natatoria as well as other building equipment play in the real Y. M. C. A. program would throw new light upon the final organization of a suitable program. In truth, here seems to be a point of departure from the old type of program and the new. The old type seems to have been confined to the building; the new type, as some of these answers suggest, would seem to be organized outside the "Y," with the community as the working ground. Building equipment would then be of much less value.

One answer is typical of the old point of view. The writer of it suggests a standard program of physical exercise. With school students such a program would perhaps be detrimental to the health of members of this class, for they get a well-rounded program in the schools. Yet this question is not to be ignored, for there is a need of maintaining some of the old type of program. Some of the members need this type of work.

QUESTION 4:

It has been stated that members of the Y. M. C. A. think of the institution as a recreational center primarily. If this is true, what can be done, in your opinion, to induce the membership of the Y. M. C. A. to regard the institution as a religious and educational center as well?

YES

I do not know how Y. M. C. A. members feel about the emphasis placed on recreation, but I do believe that Bible classes should not be dropped; and that outstanding religious and educational leaders should be kept upon all Y. M. C. A. programs.

* * *

Yes, and I think the problem is primarily one of proper selection. This selection should include a secretarial personnel that is capable of planning and executing interesting, useful religious and educational programs. In the colored Y. M. C. A.'s the competent executive of such a program will bring desired results.

* * *

The original form of the Y. M. C. A. was a simple fellowship. In our modern time this can never be again, as I see it. The whole order of things has changed; the religious approach is different; and it must now be manifested in the things we do for people.

* * *

Educationally, the "Y" cannot compete with the organized school system of today, with its unlimited financial support from public taxes. The educating we do, therefore, must supplement the work of the

NO

In our community the Y. M. C. A. is giving enough emphasis to Christian education to prevent members from thinking of the Y. M. C. A. as a recreational center only.

* * *

If the statement is true that the Y. M. C. A. is thought of as a recreational center only, there should be as much effort, time, and money put into the promotion of a religious work program as there is given to the promotion of basketball games and dances.

* * *

In the Y. M. C. A.'s where the religious work and educational work secretaries are as high-caliber men as the physical and boys' work directors, the opinion that the institution is being used as a recreational center only does not generally prevail. Too many Y. M. C. A.'s look to the colleges for their physical and boys' work directors, and to almost any other place for their religious work secretaries.

YES *NO*

free schools and not compete with them. Therefore, with the new day offering more time for leisure, the Y. M. C. A.'s might welcome the thought of serving primarily as recreational centers, guiding youth into clean, wholesome, healthful activities. What better spirit can man hold for man? What better religion can be practiced? And where can there be a more effective education than teaching one to live right?

❖ ❖ ❖

Yes, one of the ways to offset this opinion would be for the Y. M. C. A. to develop among Negroes the idea of adult education. This could be developed through small discussion groups, where members would come to know the subject matter in detail. These groups could be used to crystallize public opinion on some of the acute problems of our time.

❖ ❖ ❖

The regard in which the Y. M. C. A. is held in various cities depends upon the activities stressed by the secretaries. These secretaries should see to it that discussion on all questions uppermost in the minds of the people today be promoted, which would probably be social, political, economic and educational—but not

YES

necessarily religious. When religious questions are discussed, it should not be expected that the membership will be increased because of that fact. Young men and young women, too, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five—who are our future leaders—are not primarily interested in religious subjects or discussions. The Y. M. C. A. might be able to interest them indirectly, however, after they have become members of the clubs promoting the economic and educational forums.

❖ ❖ ❖

It is my observation that in general there are set up inhibitions in people against doing what they are told they should do. Many organizations are suffering opposition which I believe springs from this source. If through activities we can teach without much emphasis on the teaching, I believe that people will want to participate for their own enjoyment, and with a greater feeling that they are utilizing their own initiative.

❖ ❖ ❖

The old-time religious work secretary—one with fire and zeal—has passed. Many Y. M. C. A.'s attempt to place a religious content in all of their activities by placing the responsibility upon the shoul-

NO

YES	*NO*
der of each department head. From observation and study of a score of Y. M. C. A. activities, I am afraid the load has been too much, and failures become discouraging to members and secretaries alike.	

Comment on Question 4:

In regard to the responses that were given by persons who were asked Question 4, we find that most of the persons affirmed the view that the Y. M. C. A. was considered as a purely recreational center. Some favored adult education and discussion groups based on problems of the day. Others favored Bible classes, while still others approved making the Y. M. C. A. a purely recreational center.

It appears that the majority opinion here is one that would have the Y. M. C. A. program teach religious education but teach it indirectly. There is a tendency to favor increased care in giving religious instruction and in the selection of the men who carry on religious work.

III

INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

Things of the Spirit

A

Dayton

The Bureau of Crime Prevention of the city of Dayton called the boys' work director of the Y. M. C. A. and asked him to come in for a conference with some of the boys. Upon arrival at the city hall, the director found some twelve colored boys who had been accused of robbing a tobacco truck. After some delay these boys were turned over to the Y. M. C. A. One of them, Charles, was a freshman in high school. He reported regularly and became interested in one of the clubs. Today he is the assistant manager of the Hi-Y basket-ball team, and takes pride in the performance of his duties.

B

Pittsburgh

H. S. is nineteen years old. Both parents are dead. His only relative of whom he knows is a second cousin about five years his senior. It was through my efforts that this cousin is now sharing his room with H. S.

I first met H. S. at the Detective Bureau. He

had been found sleeping in a vacant house out of which the plumbing fixtures recently had been stolen. Inasmuch as H. S. had no home nor immediate relatives, it was very difficult for him to prove his innocence of the theft.

After a thorough investigation of the boy, I was able to effect his release from the detectives and I brought him to the Centre Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A. He was cared for here quite some time while a home was being found. I found H. S. to be honest, willing to coöperate, and deserving of all that has been done for him. He appeared to have been the unfortunate victim of circumstances and his pride kept him from going to some charitable institution.

I was able to get him a job as a delivery boy in a chain grocery store, where he has made a commendable record. He spends all of his leisure time in activities conducted by the Centre Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A.

C

Pittsburgh

One of the most interesting experiences in what it means to connect a boy with a club came about in the physical department during the month of December, 1933.

William, a youngster fifteen years of age, was arrested for purse snatching and was held for court. A worker from the Family Welfare Association

became interested in the case and got in touch with the physical director at the Centre Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A. and asked if he would come down and testify in behalf of William. When the trial came up in Criminal Court William was released on the recommendation of the Y. M. C. A. physical director and the family welfare worker, and paroled for two years. In releasing him, the judge advised him that it would be very necessary that he report to the "Y" twice weekly and keep the secretary in touch with his activities.

Soon after his appearance in court, he became a member of the Condors, a club which is interested in the all-around development of its members. Since becoming a member of this club, the boy has changed altogether. He is quiet, punctual in attending club meetings, and so far has proved that he intends to go straight.

D

Cincinnati

About seven years ago the attention of the boys' work secretary of the Ninth Street Branch Y. M. C. A. was called by officers of the Juvenile Court to the malicious acts of a group or gang of about forty boys. They were stealing coal, cigarettes, and the like, destroying property, and engaging in all kinds of mischief. They were constantly court cases.

The matter was taken up and discussed by the

Juvenile Court officers and the boys' work secretary. It was decided by the secretary to form the boys into a club and provide a program for them. This was done.

The boys named themselves "Skookums." Mr. Silas Rhodes, of Jackson School, volunteered to serve as their leader.

It is significant to note that after this group had been under the supervision of the "Y" for one year, the delinquency had decreased one-half. After a period of three years, Mr. Rhodes reported that only three of the group had been court problems. One year after that date the boys made a perfect record as far as the courts were concerned.

These boys, although not members of the boys' department, are still members of the Y. M. C. A. Apparently they continue to confide in their leader and go to him for the solution of almost all of their problems.

E

Evanston

This group of boys was brought to our attention in October, 1929, when Mrs. Bell of the Juvenile Court of Chicago telephoned the boys' work secretary and asked him to represent thirteen colored boys who were scheduled to go on trial for breaking into box cars and for petty larceny. These boys had an age range of from ten to fourteen years and they had been stealing from box cars

over a period of several months. They disposed of some of the loot by selling it to unscrupulous adults, who paid them practically nothing for it. The leader of the gang was fifteen years old and he was leader because of his size and superior physical strength. "Eagle Eye," the leader, had not completed the fourth grade and was in the "special help class" at school. Being larger and older than the other boys in his class, he naturally disliked school, and he encouraged, bribed, and threatened the younger boys until they would sometimes play truant with him. As a rule they would plan their raids at their rendezvous—an ill-constructed shack near the railroad right-of-way. They would then disband and gather there again after dark, in order to go out to the trucks together.

This call from the Juvenile Officer came when the present Y. M. C. A. building was being enlarged and improved. This remodelling has made it impossible for us to conduct any organized building activities. The Y. M. C. A., therefore, was maintaining desk space in a real estate office. Prior to the cessation of building activities, six of the boys had participated in the Y. M. C. A. program in a small way. The others had come into the building occasionally, which fact explains how the boys' work secretary had come to know about their home life.

Three of these boys had come from normal homes, where they were under the guidance of

both father and mother; five had no father, and their mothers were away from home every day in service; four were from homes where the parents were openly violating prohibition and health laws —one or both parents having police records; and one of the boys was living with relatives, who were much too busy to look out for his welfare. In most cases the boys had come from homes that were ill-kept and overcrowded.

Before going to court, the boys' work secretary ascertained many facts that would have an important bearing on the case and presented these data to the Chief Probation Officer. After this had been done the judge accepted our recommendation that the boys be placed in charge of the boys' work secretary for a six-month probation period. During this time the boys were required to work and earn as much money as possible, in order that each one could pay approximately three dollars for the damage done to railroad property.

The boys' work secretary assigned these boys to Big Brothers, who kept in constant touch with them and offered helpful suggestions to the boys. In addition to the contact with the Big Brothers, the boys' work secretary visited the homes of each of these boys at regular intervals, in order to educate the parents as to the need of supervision of their boys. He saw that the boys reported to him each week, but an effort was made to do away with formal reports. In order to do this, the boys' work

secretary planned a series of weekly hikes, educational trips, and outings, and invited the boys to go along. Occasionally one or two of the boys were called in to run an errand, or to take care of some detail at the office. In this way we were able to stay very close to the boys until the new Y. M. C. A. was completed.

Most of the boys came to the new Y. M. C. A. and readily participated in the program. Most of them are still very active in the boys' division. At the present time five of those boys are getting along nicely in high school; five of them are satisfactorily adjusted in the grade schools; one is out of school working; and two have moved away from Evanston; one of these boys is in our Leaders' Club; four are Junior Life Savers; one was an efficient Cabin Leader at our boys' camp last August; two of them are presidents of two of our active boys' clubs; and practically all of the others attend Y. M. C. A. activities regularly. Four of these boys did repeat or get into difficulty with the Juvenile Authorities after the first six or eight months, and two of them were sent to Cook County School for a one-year period, but even these boys are now very well-adjusted to their home and school work and are getting along quite nicely.

One can imagine how very much these boys were neglected at home when it is recalled that only three parents were sufficiently interested to attend court when the boys were arraigned in 1929. Thus,

it is logical to conclude that these boys would not now be enjoying freedom had it not been for the timely intervention of the Y. M. C. A.

F

DAYTON

Jim was fourteen years old. His mother was dead and he lived with his father and two older sisters and a younger brother. The father was out of work and none too energetic. Jim and his father were not pals by any means; in fact, Jim did not have much love for any of his family, and on many occasions stayed away from home at nights with his boy friends in an old deserted house or storeroom. Jim needed shoes, and found what he was looking for in the dressing room of the Y. M. C. A. At the same time an employee of the Y. M. C. A. discovered his loss of a pair of shoes. A week later Jim boldly entered the Y. M. C. A. wearing his newly-acquired shoes. When approached regarding the shoes, he denied having taken them and insisted that they belonged to him. After much questioning he finally declared that they belonged to another boy, name unknown, etc. Jim's next escapade was at school. He made known his dislike for the teachers, the principal, and their system of education; and refused to return under any circumstances. The attention of the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. was called to this matter. Jim was given an interview, which disclosed the following

facts: Jim was not liked or trusted by any one, therefore he did the things they expected him to do or accused him of doing; he was friendless and lonesome, and sensitive about his poor personal appearance.

The Y. M. C. A. decided that Jim was to be given a chance. He was given a membership, placed in the Hi-Y Club, and sent to another school. Plans were made for him to take up tailoring (a trade he wanted to follow). He was trusted behind the desk at the "Y"; clothes were given to him; he was moved from his father's home to that of his uncle.

Next year Jim became president of the Hi-Y Club. He made good in school, helped to organize a younger boys' club at the "Y," made extra money at his trade, made good with his uncle, was selected to attend the Hi-Y training camp during the summer, and made an enviable record while there. He graduated with honors, wrote the graduation class song, and is still doing good work.

G

Cincinnati

A boy of thirteen years was said to be a very bad boy in his community. He lived with his married sister, both parents being dead. After much persuasion the sister decided to send Robert to our Y. M. C. A. camp. She said that she expected him to break up the camp because he was so rough.

Robert stayed in the camp for three ten-day periods. He gave us a little trouble by fighting the boys and taking a stubborn attitude toward leaders. We made a special effort to improve his conduct and had daily counsel with him. In our conversation we tried to make the boy feel that he was a good boy and really stood for something. The idea must have stuck with him, for when the camp was over he went to the director and expressed a determination to be a prize winner when the next camp was conducted. The next year he was awarded the prize as the best all-round camper. Three years have passed since Robert first went to camp. He is now considered one of the most promising young men in the community. A neighbor of his who is a teacher in our public-school system said: "I have never seen anything do as much for a boy as the Y. M. C. A. camp has done for Robert. I am sold on the camp. My two boys will enter as soon as they are old enough."

Last year, as a result of our joint Hi-Y and Girl Reserves discussions, the two groups went on record as opposed to drinking. Shortly after that the two groups promoted a joint social. Three of their guests were caught drinking by one of the Hi-Y boys. The leaders of the club were informed and the boys who were drinking were put out. This year, in February, a similar social was given and whiskey was smelt on the breath of two of the same boys. At the next meeting of the Hi-Y Club, the

matter was discussed and it was decided that the two boys concerned should be removed from the invitation list of the Hi-Y Club and similar action should be recommended to the girls. This was done. When the two boys heard of the action, they became very much disturbed. Upon their request, they were permitted to meet the Hi-Y boys at one of the regular meetings. The matter was discussed and the boys were informed that the club had no personal feelings against them: the action taken was simply in line with the policy of the club. The two boys are to be given one more chance on condition that they offer an apology to the joint committee of the Hi-Y and Girl Reserves groups and promise not to be guilty again.

H

CINCINNATI

Gene is a boy of twelve. A year ago he had the reputation of being one of the biggest thieves in the city, so far as automobile thefts were concerned. He aided several times in stealing articles from our boys' building and helped in several bakery raids. One day about eight of our leaders got him into a room and questioned him. He lied going and coming; we caught him in several lies. He finally broke down and admitted his guilt and told us about the whole gang. We found that he was the smallest of the gang and that when he wanted to quit, they would not permit him. (It is to be re-

membered, however, that he was expert before he joined the gang.) We assured him of our protection and he broke away from the gang. He is now a member of our boys' department and of one of our best clubs. He often comes to tell us that he is keeping his word. There are only two of the gang whom we have not been able to touch in some way and we are still working on them.

IV

APPENDIX

TABLE No. 1

NEGRO POPULATION AND INCREASE IN NEGRO POPULATION IN 25 CITIES

(Based on U. S. Census Report for 1930)*

Cities	1910 Negro Population	1920 Negro Population	1930 Negro Population	Per Cent of Increase 1910 to 1920	Per Cent of Increase 1910 to 1930
Atlanta, Ga.	51,902	62,796	90,075	20.9%	73.5%
Brooklyn, N. Y.	22,708	31,912	68,921	40.5	203.0
Baltimore, Md.	84,749	108,322	142,106	27.8	67.6
Buffalo, N. Y.	1,733	4,511	13,563	160.3	681.4
Chicago, Ill.	44,103	109,458	233,903	148.1	430.3
Cincinnati, Ohio.	19,639	30,079	47,818	53.1	143.4
Columbus, Ohio.	12,739	22,181	32,774	74.1	157.2
Dallas, Tex.	18,024	24,023	47,879	33.2	165.6
Dayton, Ohio.	4,824	9,025	17,077	87.0	254.0
Denver, Colo.	5,426	6,075	7,204	11.9	32.7
Detroit, Mich.	5,741	40,838	120,066	611.3	2,813.8
Evanston, Ill.	1,166	2,522	4,938	116.3	323.5
Harrisburg, Pa.	4,535	5,248	5,027	15.7	10.8
Indianapolis, Ind.	21,816	34,678	43,967	58.9	101.5
Kansas City, Mo.	23,566	30,719	38,574	30.3	63.6
Los Angeles, Cal.	7,599	15,579	38,894	105.1	396.3
Montclair, N. J.	635	3,467	6,386	446.0	905.6
New York City (including Brooklyn)	91,709	152,467	327,706	66.2	257.3
Orange, N. J.	2,479	3,621	6,382	46.0	157.4
Philadelphia, Pa.	84,459	134,229	219,599	58.9	160.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25,623	37,725	54,983	47.2	114.5
St. Louis, Mo.	43,960	69,854	93,580	58.9	112.8
Toledo, Ohio.	1,877	5,691	13,260	203.1	606.4
Washington, D. C.	94,446	109,996	132,068	14.3	39.8
Youngstown, Ohio.	1,936	6,662	14,552	244.1	751.6

* The cities listed are those having Negro Y. M. C. A. buildings for which funds were contributed by Mr. Julius Rosenwald.

Population Trends

Although Negro population throughout the United States has increased somewhat more slowly

than the general population, the twenty-year period from 1910 to 1930 witnessed a phenomenal growth of Negro population in the North, particularly in industrial centers. In 1910 the largest urban aggregations of Negroes were in the following cities by order of total population: Washington, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Chicago; in 1930 the sequence was as follows: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Detroit.

The rate of growth of the four northern cities represented among the first six in 1930 was very rapid. The New York population showed a 260 per cent increase, with a growth from 92,000 to 328,000. The Negro population of Chicago increased from the relatively small number of 44,000 to 234,000, bringing Chicago to second place among all cities in the country. Philadelphia ranked third with 220,000 although the rate of growth had been less phenomenal. The largest proportionate increase in rate of growth was in Detroit, where the Negro population of 6,000 in 1910 had increased to 120,000 in 1930, a growth of 2,800 per cent during the twenty years.

There has been a noticeable growth in urban Negro population in all of the twenty-five cities represented in this report, but the increase in southern communities kept pace only with the general shift from rural to urban population which characterized the entire country. For example, the

increase in Negro urban population was 74 per cent in Atlanta, 68 per cent in Baltimore, 64 per cent in Kansas City, and 40 per cent in Washington, D. C., yet every northern city, even though the actual populations did not become large, shows a rate of increase of at least 100 per cent except in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where the population of 5,000 was maintained during this entire period.

An interesting development in growth of Negro population is that of Montclair, New Jersey, and Evanston, Illinois. These cities show a growth of 900 per cent and 325 per cent respectively during the twenty-year period. This expansion is no doubt due to the influx of Negroes employed in personal service by residents of New York and Chicago, with homes in northern New Jersey and Evanston.

Outstanding proportionate increases in population are observed in Buffalo, Los Angeles, Toledo, and Youngstown. The increase in Los Angeles was 400 per cent, with a 1930 population of nearly 40,000. In the other three cities, the increase in the population over twenty years was more than 600 per cent, with the Negro residents of 1930 being in the general neighborhood of 15,000 persons in each city.

The table and the instances just cited indicate clearly: (1) that there has been during the last two decades a continued increase in Negro population in the industrial centers; (2) that there is a pro-

portionately higher increase in northern cities than in southern; (3) that there has been a greater shift of Negro population from rural to urban areas than among the white population.

TABLE No. 2

CAPITAL INVESTMENT, SOURCE OF FUNDS, AND PROPERTY DEBT OF Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Original Cost of Land, Building, Equipment	Source of Funds				Property Debt
		Year Dedicated	Julius Rosenwald	Local Negro Population	Other	
Atlanta	$141,516	1920	$25,000	$35,242	$81,274	None
Baltimore	115,000	1918	25,000	12,500	77,500	$19,000
Brooklyn	230,271	1917	25,000	15,000	190,271	None
Buffalo	280,308	1928	25,000	7,500	32,500	*None
Chicago	193,979	1913	25,000	22,000	146,979	7,309
Cincinnati	111,545	1916	25,000	15,808	70,737	1,579
Columbus	140,496	1918	25,000	no record	115,496	None
Dallas	183,156	1930	25,000	49,761	108,394	*None
Dayton	194,385	1928	25,000	8,643	160,741	None
Denver	100,262	1924	25,000	9,000	66,262	37,000
Detroit	515,685	1925	25,000	25,084	465,601	None
Evanston	134,569	1929	12,000	11,000	111,569	None
Harrisburg	170,629	1933	25,000	11,307	134,321	*None
Indianapolis	110,000	1913	25,000	10,000	75,000	8,500
Kansas City	104,000	1914	25,000	30,250	48,750	None
Los Angeles	200,000	1926	25,000	20,000	155,000	None
Montclair	164,000	1928	25,000	9,000	130,000	*None
New York	373,541	1919	25,000	23,763	324,778	*None
New York	1,036,297	1933	25,000	14,292	997,005	None
Orange	175,000	1932	25,000	4,340	145,659	1,000
Philadelphia	127,384	1912	25,000	14,011	88,373	None
Pittsburgh	276,499	1923	25,000	21,291	230,208	7,527
St. Louis	225,000	1919	25,000	57,600	142,400	None
Toledo	203,002	1930	25,000	7,927	170,075	*None
Washington	110,000	1912	25,000	35,000	50,000	10,800
Youngstown	199,445	1931	25,000	†2,000	172,000	None
	$5,815,969	....	$637,000	$472,319	$4,490,893	.....

* Property debt assumed by the general Association.
† Contributed to furnishings and equipment only.

TABLE No. 3

OPERATING COSTS, DEFICITS, AND VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1933 AND ACCUMULATED OPERATING DEFICIT BY 1933 FOR Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Operating Costs 1933	Operating Deficit 1933	Contributions			Accumulated Operating Deficit
			From White Population	From Negro Population	From Community Chest	
Atlanta	$8,800	$2,663	$ 0	$1,142	$2,100	None
Baltimore	12,100	None	2,000	1,154	0	$7,416
Brooklyn	30,600	6,636	3,000	2,500	0	18,000
Buffalo	19,600	.....	1,100	1,000	0	30,612
Chicago	56,500	1,102	4,000	639	1,483	4,921
Cincinnati	39,900	928	0	0	14,700	*None
Columbus	28,400	1,500	0	0	9,900	49,982
Dallas	10,400	1,085	0	1,655	0	10,168
Dayton	27,200	None	0	0	6,875	12,370
Denver	13,500	5,442	0	0	5,542	*None
Detroit	52,500	7,392	0	0	12,000	7,392
Evanston	13,100	None	6,000	171	0	None
Harrisburg	6,100	.....	0	1,913	8,023	None
Indianapolis	30,400	737	0	800	8,800	2,400
Kansas City	9,912	4,816	0	1,400	4,816	35,341
Los Angeles	16,700	None	0	6,788	6,771	*None
Montclair	11,200	10,000	0	0	3,070	10,000
New York	75,900	None	0	2,600	0	23,426
Orange	13,200	1,257	0	0	3,089	1,257
Philadelphia	18,600	3,321	2,000	4,800	0	120,000
Pittsburgh	41,000	None	0	0	7,745	3,502
St. Louis	51,400	14,173	600	2,500	6,824	*None
Toledo	14,700	4,751	4,400	6,249	2,241	12,332
Washington	24,000	300	0	0	7,681	3,125
Youngstown	6,200	3,265	0	2,219	3,265	None

* Current deficits absorbed by the general Association.

TABLE No. 4

RANGE OF ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP FEES FOR MEN AND BOYS, 1928 AND 1933, IN Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Range of Annual Membership Fees			
	Men		Boys	
	1933	1928	1933	1928
Atlanta	$5.00 & up	$5.00 & up	$1.00	$3.00
Baltimore	3.00–5.00	5.00–10.00	1.50–2.50	3.00–5.00
Brooklyn	3.00–7.50	5.00–7.50	1.00–3.00	1.00–4.50
Buffalo	3.00	5.00–8.00	1.35	3.00–5.00
Chicago	3.00–6.00	3.00–12.00	1.00	2.00–5.00
Cincinnati	1.50–10.00	2.50–10.00	2.00–5.00	2.00–5.00
Columbus	2.50–4.00	2.50–10.00	1.00	1.00–4.00
Dallas	3.00–15.00	No building	2.00–4.00	No building
Dayton	3.00–6.00	5.00–10.00	1.50	3.00–5.00
Denver	5.00–10.00	10.00–50.00	1.00–3.00	2.00–8.00
Detroit	3.50–12.00	5.00–5.25	3.00–5.00	2.00–4.00
Evanston	5.00–10.00	2.00–5.00	2.00–4.00	1.00–3.00
Harrisburg	3.00–10.00	2.00	1.50–4.00	.75–1.00
Indianapolis	2.00–10.00	2.00–10.00	1.00–3.00	1.00–3.00
Kansas City	3.00–8.00	3.00–8.00	1.00–2.00	1.00–2.00
Los Angeles	2.50–5.00	5.00–10.00	3.00	5.00
Montclair	4.00–7.00	5.00–10.00	1.00–4.00	1.00–4.00
New York	5.00–12.00	5.00–10.00	4.00	2.50–3.00
Orange	5.00	No building	4.25	No building
Philadelphia	1.00	1.50	.50	.75
Pittsburgh	3.00–7.00	10.00–13.00	2.00–4.00	3.00–5.00
St. Louis	3.00–12.00	3.00–15.00	1.00–3.00	1.00–5.00
Toledo	3.00–5.00	7.50	2.00–5.00	4.00
Washington	5.00–25.00	5.00–25.00	2.50–4.00	2.50
Youngstown	5.00	No building	2.00	No building

TABLE No. 5

RANGE OF WEEKLY DORMITORY RENTALS, PERCENTAGE OF DORMITORY OCCUPANCY, CAFETERIA PROFIT AND LOSS, 1928 AND 1933, FOR Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Range of Weekly Dormitory Rentals		Per Cent Dormitory Occupancy		Cafeteria Profit or Loss	
	1933	1928	1933	1928	1933	1928
Atlanta	$2.00	$4.00	25	95	No Cafeteria	$.....
Baltimore	3.00–4.00	3.00–4.00	48	76	No Cafeteria	.....
Brooklyn	3.50–5.00	4.40–6.00	43	100	*233	350
Buffalo	3.00–4.00	4.00–5.00	40	100	196	*1,642
Chicago	1.50–5.00	3.50–6.00	38	91	*637	1,214
Cincinnati	2.50–3.50	2.75–4.50	60	88	*808	972
Columbus	2.00–3.00	2.50–3.50	95	†	360	648
Dallas	2.50–4.00	No building	62	..	300	.....
Dayton	2.50–3.50	3.00–4.50	52	82	300	*2,182
Denver	2.25–3.00	3.25–4.00	60	80	No Cafeteria	.....
Detroit	1.75–4.25	3.00–5.50	44	90	Closed	368
Evanston	2.50–4.00	3.00	68	90	314	No building
Harrisburg	2.50–3.50	No building	40	..	No Cafeteria	.....
Indianapolis	2.00–2.75	2.25–3.00	32	75	157	300
Kansas City	1.75–3.00	2.25–4.50	48	80	Loss	Loss
Los Angeles	2.75–3.00	2.75–5.00	46	96	No Cafeteria	.....
Montclair	3.50–4.00	5.00–6.00	50	100	No Cafeteria	.....
New York	4.00–7.00	3.50–5.50	71	83	1,936	*65
Orange	3.00–3.50	No building	65	..	908	No building
Philadelphia	3.00–4.50	4.50–5.00	50	80	No Cafeteria	.....
Pittsburgh	3.00–4.50	3.00–5.00	33	82	258	*2,512
St. Louis	2.00–4.00	3.00–4.00	80	96	497	*700
Toledo	2.50–3.75	3.50–4.00	40	28	No Cafeteria	....
Washington	2.50–4.00	2.50–3.25	81	97	119	160
Youngstown	2.50	No building	65	..	180	No building

* Deficit.
† No Record.

TABLE No. 6*

NUMBER OF VOLUNTEER WORKERS, INTERVIEWS, HI-Y CLUBS, PLACEMENTS, AND TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL WORK, 1933, IN Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Committeemen and Volunteer Workers	Interviews	Placements	Hi-Y Clubs	Types of Industrial Work
Atlanta	333	2,012	A	6	BGW
Baltimore	72	105	24	2	O
Brooklyn	78	187	58	1	O
Buffalo	100	160	16	2	A
Chicago	220	3,402	A	A	Y
Cincinnati	251	8,558	88	2	YC
Columbus	133	10,025	65	5	A
Dallas	100	272	A	3	O
Dayton	121	141	A	6	O
Denver	56	175	175	2	O
Detroit	189	697	102	2	YC
Evanston	66	1,630	17	1	Y
Harrisburg	91	20	14	3	A
Indianapolis	617	5,000	A	3	RCW
Kansas City	300	.....	.....	2	Y
Los Angeles	85	148	41	7	Y
Montclair	66	609	113	0	O
New York	767	8,491	A	0	O
Orange	103	36	8	2	A
Philadelphia	60	775	58	2	O
Pittsburgh	182	1,574	70	5	IFG
St. Louis	79	A	A	6	A
Toledo	151	1,500	68	3	PCG
Washington	269	2,382	254	2	YW
Youngstown	69	465	A	0	O

* Key to Symbols

X Data exist but quantity unknown
A Association made no report
C Employed boys' work
E Educational exhibit
F Foremen's club
G Thrift campaign
I Industrial executives' forum
M Musical organization
N Noon shop meetings
O No activity
P Motion pictures
R Recreational activity
S Safety campaign
T Foremen's training course
W Workers helped raise money in campaign
Y Y. M. C. A. is a center for events
.. No record

TABLE No. 7

MEMBERSHIP AND DEPARTMENTAL GROUP ACTIVITIES, 1933, FOR Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Number of Paid-Up Members				Number of Students		
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Religious Discussion Groups	Physical Dept. Groups	Educational Groups
Atlanta	412	306	0	0	913	880	0
Baltimore	296	425	0	0	14	138	0
Brooklyn	289	280	0	0	26	193	0
Buffalo	323	413	39	46	34	130	191
Chicago	700	420	113	96	123	706	444
Cincinnati	414	304	0	0	30	301	0
Columbus	275	900	0	0	72	160	70
Dallas	278	163	0	0	104	152	0
Dayton	101	211	0	0	0	37	126
Denver	375	250	0	0	27	65	110
Detroit	214	286	0	0	61	928	0
Evanston	135	178	78	51	123	238	0
Harrisburg	202	163	81	80	57	27	0
Indianapolis	908	679	0	0	137	894	255
Kansas City	305	175	0	0	250	50	300
Los Angeles	661	421	0	0	18	65	15
Montclair	310	120	0	0	180	90	0
New York	868	440	0	0	1,680	1,084	426
Orange	256	123	0	0	60	1,141	38
Philadelphia	203	64	90	32	2,920	111	580
Pittsburgh	334	277	0	0	98	346	1,012
St. Louis	1,388	1,387	0	0	5,107	259	191
Toledo	307	373	0	0	297	308	142
Washington	798	301	0	0	5,832	318	8
Youngstown	110	239	0	0	69	75	0

TABLE No. 8

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME EMPLOYED OFFICERS IN Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Number of Employed Officers			
	Full-Time		Part-Time	
	1933	1928	1933	1928
Atlanta	1	2	1	4
Baltimore	2	3	0	0
Brooklyn	5	6	0	2
Buffalo	1	3	1	0
Chicago	2	6	5	6
Cincinnati	3	6	2	1
Columbus	4	8	2	1
Dallas	2	0	1	0
Dayton	3	4	1	2
Denver	2	3	0	2
Detroit	3	6	2	4
Evanston	1	2	2	1
Harrisburg	4	1	0	0
Indianapolis	4	5	2	2
Kansas City	1	3	2	1
Los Angeles	3	3	0	4
Montclair	2	3	1	2
New York	9	8	1	0
Orange	2	0	2	0
Philadelphia	3	5	3	3
Pittsburgh	4	4	0	0
St. Louis	5	9	0	0
Toledo	2	0	1	0
Washington	5	3	1	3
Youngstown	2	1	1	0
	75	94	31	38

TABLE No. 9

NUMBER OF BOYS ENROLLED IN 1933 IN SUMMER CAMPS CONDUCTED BY Y. M. C. A.'s FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS IN 25 CITIES

Location of Y. M. C. A.	Was Camp Conducted?	Number of Boys Enrolled
Atlanta	Yes	28
Baltimore	No	...
Brooklyn	No	...
Buffalo	Yes	*
Chicago	Yes	202
Cincinnati	Yes	103
Columbus	Yes	10
Dallas	No	...
Dayton	Yes	95
Denver	No	...
Detroit	No	...
Evanston	No	...
Harrisburg	Yes	121
Indianapolis	Yes	138
Kansas City	No	...
Los Angeles	Yes	157
Montclair	Yes	5
New York	No	...
Orange	Yes	38
Philadelphia	No	...
Pittsburgh	Yes	73
St. Louis	Yes	239
Toledo	No	...
Washington	Yes	68
Youngstown	No	...

* Number not given.

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